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ROSSETTI'S HOUSE OF LIFE

Dante Gabriel Rossetti was one of the most mysterious personalities of the nineteenth century. The public has never quite understood his strange life. Genial and sympathetic by nature, he formed ardent friendships which were later given up or lost without apparently adequate cause. He was the acknowledged leader of a school of art which gradually won its way into public favor; but he came to live a life of melancholy and embittered seclusion apart even from those who had been his most devoted followers. The apparent reasons were that a few hostile critics led by Robert Buchanan had maligned him as the sensual leader of the "Fleshly School of Poetry," that his wife had died of an accidental overdose of laudanum, and that the use of chloral and alcohol in latter days had impaired the strength of his mind. No one, however, has been quite satisfied with these explanations. The use of chloral seems more a result than a cause. Buchanan's attack, though bitter and unjust, was afterward recanted, and, from the first, public appreciation far outweighed the hostile criticism. Although the loss of his wife was so great a shock that in a passion of grief and tenderness he caused to be buried with her a manuscript volume of his poems, either, as Hall Caine explains, "because they were written to her and for her and must go with her,"¹ or, according to William Michael Rossetti, out of remorse that "he had been working at them when

¹ T. Hall Caine, *My Story* (1909), p. 85.
257]

she was ill and suffering and he might have been attending her";¹ yet, seven years later, for the sake of poetic fame, he allowed the body to be exhumed in order that the manuscript might be recovered and published, and thus destroyed much of the grace of his great renunciation. Could these events have produced the bitterness, melancholy, and despair which clouded the poet's life? Was he really so "weak, wayward, and uncertain," or has the inner life of the poet never been quite understood?

Strangely enough, no one has hitherto attempted to throw light on the mystery by a critical study of the sonnet sequence *The House of Life*. This work long ago outlived the charge of immorality. Even Buchanan, as I have said, went so far as to retract his criticism.² Indeed the sequence as a whole has been adjudged by many the best product of late nineteenth-century Romanticism. Still it has very generally been considered obscure, and its profound human interest as showing the development of the poet's emotional life has not been widely recognized. Rossetti himself felt that his sonnets were not understood; and he once told Charles Fairfax Murray that he was inclined to write and publish some sort of exposition of the series, though he never carried out his purpose.³ Also the poet's brother, William Michael Rossetti, having been told repeatedly that *The House of Life* was obscure, wrote a paraphrase in prose, which he appended to his book called *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer* (1888); but this paraphrase attempts little beyond clearing up obscurities in the text; it does not connect the sonnets with the poet's intellectual and spiritual development. They are not arranged chronologically, and no one has taken the trouble to establish the various dates of composition, in order to bring them into close connection with the poet's life. Such a study ought both to throw light on the mystery of the poet's life and also to help clear up some of the obscurities of the sonnets.

The subject-matter has to do with profound emotional experiences: the birth of human love, its growth, its satisfaction, the conflicting power of a new love springing up by the side of the old,

¹ W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, I, 225.

² *Ibid.*, I, 301.

³ W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 180.

the sorrow of parted love, the anguish of loss, regret over unused opportunities and unrealized ambitions, doubt, remorse, despair. And the experiences must be largely autobiographical. William Michael Rossetti says:

The sonnets are mostly of the kind which we call "occasional"; some incident happened, or some emotion was dominant, and the author wrote a sonnet regarding it. When a good number had been written, they came to form, if considered collectively, a sort of record of his feelings and experiences . . . he certainly never professed, nor do I consider that he ever wished his readers to assume, that all the items had been primarily planned to form one connected and indivisible whole.¹

The poet himself once told W. B. Scott that he hardly ever produced a sonnet "except on some basis of special momentary emotion,"² and in speaking to Hall Caine of the sonnet entitled "Without Her," he said, "I cannot tell you at what terrible moment it was wrung from me."³ Again in a letter to Hall Caine he said, "'Lost Days' might be equally a favorite with me [as 'Known in Vain' and 'Stillborn Love'] if I did not remember at what but too opportune juncture it was wrung out of me."⁴ Moreover, his method of composition is explained in the sonnets themselves.

THE SONG-THROE

By thine own tears thy song must tears beget
 O Singer! Magic mirror thou hast none
 Except thy manifest heart; and save thine own
 Anguish or ardor, else no amulet.
 Cisterned in Pride, verse is a feathery jet
 Of soulless air-flung fountains; nay, more dry
 Than the Dead Sea for throats that thirst and sigh,
 That song o'er which no singer's lids grew wet.
 The Song-god—He the Sun-god—is no slave
 Of thine: thy hunter he, who for thy soul
 Fledges his shaft; to no august control
 Of thy skilled hand his quivering store he gave:
 But if thy lips' loud cry leap to his smart,
 The inspir'd recoil shall pierce thy brother's heart.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.

² W. B. Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, II, 150.

³ T. Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

The exact chronology of the sonnets is not easily determined. William Michael Rossetti in a note in his two-volume edition of Rossetti's *Poems* has set down for us a provisional order, but he gives no exact dates and admits that the order must be far from correct. He says, "I am far from having a clear idea or definite information as to the true date of the sonnets. But I think the reader is entitled to some sort of guidance regarding them . . . and therefore, keeping in view the line of demarcation above referred to, I append here a rough suggestion of what may have been their sequence in point of date."¹ I have been able to correct the order in many particulars and to fix a considerable number of dates. A search through published memoirs, letters, and recollections has established definitely the dates of about half the number, and most of the others may be approximately dated by inference from the various external evidences and from the internal evidences found in the public editions of 1870 and 1881, in the privately printed edition of 1869, and in the sheets added to this private edition before the publication of the edition of 1870. The most desirable piece of evidence, i.e., the manuscript volume buried in 1862 and recovered from Mrs. Rossetti's grave in 1869, seems to have been destroyed.²

The following dates have been definitely determined:

- 1847. *Retro me, Sathana*.³
- 1847-48. *The Choice* (three sonnets).⁴
- 1848-49. *Old and New Art* (three sonnets).⁴
- 1853. *Known in Vain*.⁵
- 1853. *The Hill Summit*.⁶
- 1854. *Lost on Both Sides*.⁷

¹ Rossetti's *Works* (1886), I, 517.

² Arthur C. Benson, *Rossetti*, p. 55.

³ "The sonnet *Retro Me Sathana* must belong to 1847, being intended to pair with his picture of the same name. The trio of sonnets named *The Choice* appertain to the same year, or perhaps to an early date in 1848."—*Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, ed. W. M. R., I, 107-8.

⁴ "The second and third—bearing the titles *Not as These* and *The Husbandman*—were written in 1848; the first, *St. Luke the Painter*, in 1849."—*Ibid.*, I, 144.

⁵ "The sonnet *Known in Vain* was written in January, 1853."—*Ibid.*, I, 167.

⁶ Included in a letter from Rossetti to William Allingham in August, 1854, with the remark, "Here's one I remember writing in great glory on the top of a hill which I reached one day, after sunset in Warwickshire last year."—*Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, p. 45.

⁷ Included in a letter of July 14, 1854, with the remark, "I'll add my last sonnet made two days ago."—*Ibid.*, p. 31.

1854. The Birth-bond.¹
1855. A Dark Day.²
- 1865-68. Body's Beauty.³
- 1865-68. Soul's Beauty.³
1868. Willow-wood (four sonnets).⁴
1869. A Superscription.⁵
1869. Autumn Idleness.⁶
1869. Vain Virtues.⁷
1869. Farewell to the Glen.⁸
1871. The Dark Glass.⁹
1871. The Lovers' Walk.⁹
1871. Heart's Haven.⁹
1871. Through Death to Love.⁹
1879. Ardour and Memory.¹⁰
1880. Introductory Sonnet.¹¹
1880. Pride of Youth.¹²

¹ Included in a letter of August, 1854, with the remark, "Here's a sonnet written only two or three days ago."—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

² Called his last sonnet in a letter of January 23, 1855.—*Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ "In the spring of 1868 Rossetti had already made an appearance in public print as a poet; introducing, into a pamphlet review of pictures of that year, three sonnets recently written for paintings of his own—*Lady Lilith*, *Sibylla Palmifera*, and *Venus Verticordia*. The two former have since been entitled *Body's Beauty* and *Soul's Beauty*."—*Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, I, 270-71. See also *Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 145. "Lilith" was begun in 1864. Miss Alexa Wilding, who sat for the "Sibyl," began sitting for Rossetti in 1865. Both pictures were finished by 1868.

⁴ William Michael Rossetti's diary under date of December 18, 1868, says, "Gabriel has just written a series of four sonnets—Willow-wood."—*Rossetti Papers*, ed. by W.M. R. (1903), p. 339.

⁵ "Gabriel has written another sonnet, *A Superscription*, has selected 16 sonnets, and sent them to the Fortnightly for the March number. He thinks he must have by him at least 50 sonnets which he would be willing to publish."—*Diary of W. M. R.* under January 24, 1869, *Rossetti Papers*, p. 380.

⁶ W. M. Rossetti, *Rossetti Papers*, p. 468.

⁷ "Gabriel has done two new sonnets, *Pandora* (for his picture now in progress) and *Vain Virtues*."—*Diary of W. M. R.*, March 18, 1869, *Rossetti Papers*, p. 386.

⁸ "It was written on the 27th of Sept., 1869, at Penkill Castle and Rossetti left next day, never again to revisit the place where in 1868 the rebirth of his poetic powers had gradually taken place."—William Sharp, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1882), p. 429.

⁹ These sonnets were included in a letter from Dante Gabriel Rossetti to W. B. Scott, August 13, 1871. Rossetti says, "I have now 30 new ones in MS. for the *House of Life* since printing last year."—*Autobiographical Notes of W. B. Scott*, II, 143.

¹⁰ Written "Xmas 1879," as appears from the signature of the facsimile copy in Sharp's *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 426.

¹¹ Written in February, 1880. See T. Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, pp. 120-21.

¹² W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 171; Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, pp. 254-55 (published in the *Athenaeum*, September 3, 1881).

1881. Michelangelo's Kiss.¹

1881. True Woman (three sonnets).²

In the chronological table of the poet's writings appended to *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, W. M. Rossetti sets down the following additional dates with question marks. No reasons for these dates are given, but the mere remembrance of the brother has some value, for, except possibly in the case of the most intimate love sonnets, he would naturally learn of them soon after their composition.

1858. Lost Days.

1860. Inclusiveness.

1868. Nuptial Sleep.

1868. The Love-moon.

1869. Stillborn Love.

1869. Broken Music.

1869. The One Hope.

1869. Newborn Death.

1871. Love and Hope.

1871. Cloud and Wind.

1874. The Heart of the Night.

1874. Memorial Thresholds.

Further information comes from the various editions which appeared during the poet's lifetime. In the complete edition of 1881, *The House of Life* contained 102 sonnets; in the edition of 1870, 50 sonnets;³ in the privately printed edition of 1869, 32 sonnets.

The edition of 1869 is not accessible to me, but W. M. Rossetti has kindly furnished me with the following information:

I enclose a list of the sonnets which appeared in the privately printed sheets of 1869, before the recovery of the buried MS. and also of those which were added in sheets of the *Poems* of 1870 before publication of that volume.

¹ Written and sent to Christina Rossetti in January, 1881.—W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 171. See also *Family Letters of Christina Rossetti*, ed. by W. M. R., p. 92.

² W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, p. 171: "In writing to our mother on 15th September [1881] he spoke of them as written 'quite lately.'" See *Letters and Memoir*, II, 386.

³ Besides six sonnets afterward included: "St. Luke and the Painter," "Lilith," "Sibylla Palmifera," "Autumn Idleness," "Farewell to the Glen," "The Monochord."

IN THE PRIVATELY PRINTED POEMS 1869

Inclusiveness	The Kiss
Known in Vain	Nuptial Sleep
The Landmark	Love's Lovers
A Dark Day	Nearest Kindred
Vain Virtues	Winged Hours
Lost Days	The Love-moon
Retro me, Sathana	The Morrow's Message
Lost on Both Sides	Sleepless Dreams
The Sun's Shame	Secret Parting
Run and Won	Parted Love
Newborn Death (2)	Broken Music
Bridal Birth	Death in Love
Flammifera	Willow-wood (4)
Love-sight	A Superscription

ADDED IN SHEETS PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION OF 1870

Supreme Surrender	Life in Love
The Birth-bond	Stillborn Love
The Portrait	The Choice (3)
Passion and Worship	Hoarded Joy
A Day of Love	Death Songsters
Love's Baubles	The One Hope

These lists contain all the titles of the 1870 edition except "The Love-letter," "Love's Redemption," "The Hill Summit," "Barren Spring," "He and I," "Love-sweetness," and "The Vase of Life." They contain three titles which do not appear at all in later editions, i.e., "Run and Won," "Flammifera," and "Nearest Kindred." Of these "Run and Won" is the same sonnet as "The Vase of Life."¹ In an unpublished letter W. M. Rossetti says, "'Flammifera' (I am as good as sure) is the same as 'Love's Redemption,' and 'Nearest Kindred' as 'The Birth-bond.'"

Of these forty-five sonnets, twenty have already been dated. Can anything be said of the rest except that they were written as early as 1869 or 1870? No evidence is available except internal evidence which is more or less unsatisfactory. Yet certain probabilities are worth noting. "The Landmark" probably refers to

¹ W. M. Rossetti, *Bibliography of the Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1905), p. 15; also *Fortnightly Review* for 1869.

Rossetti's resolution in 1853 to give up poetry and devote his entire attention to painting. "Death-in-love" seems to express premonitions of Miss Siddal's death, fears of which first became manifest about 1854. The fact that fourteen of these sonnets were added in sheets to the edition of 1869 before publication of the 1870 volume does not mean that they were written after the 1869 sheets were printed. Indeed we know that "The Birth-bond" was written in 1854 and "The Choice" in 1847-48. The others may have been written in 1869 or they may have been in the manuscript volume recovered from Mrs. Rossetti's grave between the time of the edition of 1869 and the edition of 1870. In the latter case they must have been written before 1862, and this is probably true of some of them at least. We know that the poet was in the habit of writing sonnets between 1853 and 1862. In a letter to William Allingham in 1854, he said, "Of short pieces I have seldom or never done anything tolerable, except perhaps sonnets,"¹ and, "But my sonnets are not generally finished till I see them again after forgetting them."² Again, in another letter of the same year, he writes, "I've referred to my note book for the above alteration and therein are various sonnets and beginnings of sonnets written at crises of happy inspiration."³ Not many of these sonnets, however, can go back beyond 1853, for the poet himself made the following note in the edition of 1869: "Most of these poems [in the 1869 volume] were written between 1847 and 1853; and are here printed, if not without revision, yet generally much in their original state. They are a few among many then written, but of the others I have no complete copies. *The Sonnets and Songs are chiefly more recent work.*"⁴

Individual sonnets cannot, perhaps, be assigned to the early period with certainty, but there are considerations which make the earlier date probable in the case of certain ones. In the first place, some of them are more strikingly sensuous than the others. They treat of the immediate joy of triumphant love. They emphasize the physical aspects of love. The emotion is not so reflective, not so clearly spiritualized, as in the sonnets which we know to have been

¹ *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁴ W. M. Rossetti, *Bibliography to the Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, p. 16.

written after 1870. An illustration will make the point clear. Compare for example the following sonnets:

LOVE-SWEETNESS

Sweet dimness of her loosened hair's downfall
 About thy face; her sweet hands round thy head
 In gracious fostering union garlanded;
 Her tremulous smiles; her gracious sweet recall
 Of love; her murmuring sighs memorial;
 Her mouth's culled sweetness by thy kisses shed
 On cheeks and neck and eyelids, and so led
 Back to her mouth which answers there for all:—

 What sweeter than these things, except the thing
 In lacking which all these would lose their sweet:—
 The confident heart's still fervour: the swift beat
 And soft subsidence of the spirit's wing,
 Then when it feels, in cloud-girt wayfaring,
 The breath of kindred plumes against its feet?

MID-RAPTURE

Thou lovely and beloved, thou my love;
 Whose kiss seems still the first; whose summoning eyes,
 Even now, as for our love-world's new sunrise,
 Shed very dawn; whose voice, attuned above
 All modulation of the deep-bowered dove,
 Is like a hand laid softly on the soul;
 Whose hand is like a sweet voice to control
 Those worn tired brows it hath the keeping of:—

 What word can answer to thy word—what gaze
 To thine, which now absorbs within its sphere
 My worshiping face, till I am mirrored there
 Light-circled in a heaven of deep-drawn rays?
 What clasp, what kiss mine inmost heart can prove,
 O lovely and beloved, O my love?

It is true that any sonnet-sequence on the subject of love would naturally begin with the physical aspects and develop toward the spiritual; and Rossetti, after conceiving the idea of putting his sonnets into such a sequence, might very well have added sonnets of physical passion to the early part of the series; yet it is significant that none of the sonnets added to the early part after the edition of 1870 emphasizes this aspect.

Another consideration lies in the fact that certain sonnets contain much of the conventional imagery of the god of Love after the Dante manner, a fact most likely to apply in the years between 1853 and 1862, when Rossetti was particularly interested in the study of Dante and was preparing his volume *The Early Italian Poets* (later called *Dante and his Circle*), published in 1861. To be sure, there are many suggestions of Dante in the poet's later work, but not so many conventional references to Cupid and the machinery of his worship, and scant use of conventional Dantesque poetic conceits like "the spirits of the eyes." For example, "Love's Testament," "Love-sight," and "Bridal Birth" seem conventionally Dantesque.

LOVE'S TESTAMENT

O thou who at Love's hour ecstasically
 Unto my heart dost evermore present,
*Clothed with his fire, thy heart his testament*¹
 Whom I have neared and felt thy breath to be
The inmost incense of his sanctuary;
 Who without speech hast owned him, and, intent
 Upon his will, thy life with mine hast blent,
 And murmured, "I am thine, thou'rt one with me!"

O what from thee the grace, to me the prize,
 And what to Love the glory,—when the whole
 Of the deep stair thou treadst to the dim shoal
 And weary water of the place of sighs,
 And there dost work deliverance, as *thine eyes*
Draw up my prisoned spirit to thy soul!

LOVE-SIGHT

When do I see thee most, beloved one?
 When in the light the *spirits of mine eyes*
 Before thy face, their altar, solemnize
 The worship of that Love through thee made known?

BRIDAL BIRTH

As when desire, long darkling, dawns, and first
 The mother looks upon the newborn child,
 Even so my Lady stood at gaze and smiled
 When her soul knew at length the Love it nursed.

¹ The italics indicate the most striking Dantesque imagery.

Born with her life, creature of poignant thirst
 And exquisite hunger, at her heart Love lay
 Quickening in darkness, till a voice that day
 Cried on him, and the bonds of birth were burst.

Now, shadowed by his wings, our faces yearn
 Together, as his full-grown feet now range
 The grove, and his warm hands our couch prepare;
 Till to his song our bodiless souls in turn
 Be born his children, when Death's nuptial change
 Leaves for light the halo of his hair.

In the late sonnets Love is personified, but not so conventionally visualized.

A still further mark of difference lies in the use of nature imagery. To be sure, Rossetti was far from being a nature poet. He never loved her with the intimate and philosophical sympathy of Wordsworth. He never saw the beauty of nature as he saw the beauty of the human face. Indeed, before 1868, he lived but little outside the city and did not come into close contact with nature. However, the summers of 1868 and 1869 were spent at Penkill Castle in Ayer-shire, and the summer of 1871 at Kelmscott Manor in Oxfordshire. At this time he became so alive to the influences of nature that much of the imagery of the later group of sonnets is nature imagery. Examples are "The Lovers' Walk," "Youth's Spring Tribute," "Silent Noon," "Gracious Moonlight," "Farewell to the Glen," "Last Fire," "Through Death to Love," and "Love and Hope." Sonnets known to be early contain almost no genuine nature imagery.

It is true that tests like these we have been considering must be used with great caution; but I suggest a probability that the following sonnets belong to the period prior to 1862. These sonnets are either very sensuous or conventionally Dantesque or both, and they contain almost no intimate nature imagery.

Bridal Birth	Supreme Surrender
Love's Redemption	The Portrait ¹
Love-sight	The Love-letter
The Kiss	A Day of Love
Nuptial Sleep	Love-sweetness
Love's Lovers	

¹ Rossetti made at least three pictures of Mrs. Rossetti during 1860-61. See *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, Chronological Index.

Between 1870 and 1881 *The House of Life* was increased from fifty to one hundred and two sonnets. Of the new fifty-two, twenty-one have already been dated. To the six set down for 1871, at least twenty-four more must be added, for Rossetti, writing to W. B. Scott under date of August 13 of this year, says, "I have thirty new ones [sonnets] in manuscript for *The House of Life* since printing last year."¹ This leaves only six unaccounted for.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE²

Retro me, Sathana (90) 1847	A Day of Love (16) (Between 1853 and 1862)
The Choice (71-73) 1848	Love-sweetness (21) (Between 1853 and 1862)
Old and New Art (74-76) 1848-49	Body's Beauty (78) (1864-68)
Known in Vain (65) 1853	Soul's Beauty (77) (1864-68)
The Hill Summit (70) 1853	The Love-moon (37) 1868?
The Landmark (67) (1853-54)	Willow-wood (49-52) 1868
Lost on Both Sides (91) 1854	Autumn Idleness (69) 1869
The Birth-bond (15) 1854	A Superscription (97) 1869
A Dark Day (68) 1855	Vain Virtues (85) 1869
Death-in-love (48) (1854-55)	Farewell to the Glen (84) 1869
Lost Days (86) 1858?	Newborn Death (99-100) 1869?
Inclusiveness (63) 1860?	The One Hope (101) 1869?
The Portrait (10) (1860-61)	Broken Music (47) 1869?
Bridal Birth (2) (Between 1851 and 1862)	Sleepless Dreams (39) (1868-69)
Love's Testament (3) (Between 1853 and 1862)	The Morrow's Message (38) (1868-69)
(Love's Redemption)	Secret Parting (45) (1868-69)
Love-sight (4) (Between 1853 and 1862)	Parted Love (46) (1868-69)
The Kiss (6) (Between 1853 and 1862)	Winged Hours (25) (1868-69)
Nuptial Sleep (Between 1853 and 1862)	The Vase of Life (95) (1868-69)
Love's Lovers (8) (Between 1853 and 1862)	Passion and Worship (9) (1868-70)
Supreme Surrender (7) (Between 1853 and 1862)	Love's Baubles (23) (1868-70)
The Love-letter (11) (Between 1853 and 1862)	Stillborn Love (55) (1868-70)
	Life-in-love (36) (1868-70)
	Hoarded Joy (82) (1868-70)
	Barren Spring (83) (1868-70)
	The Monochord (79) (1868-70)
	He and I (98) (1868-70)

¹ W. B. Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, II, 143.

² The dates in parentheses are based upon probabilities only. The dates followed by a question mark represent the uncertain remembrance of William Michael Rossetti.

Death's Songsters (87) (1868-70)	Heart's Haven (22) 1871
The Sun's Shame (92) (1868-70)	Through Death to Love (41) 1871
The Dark Glass (34) 1871	Love and Hope (43) 1871?
The Lovers' Walk (12) 1871	Cloud and Wind (44) 1871?
The Moonstar (29) ¹	Heart's Compass (27)
Last Fire (30)	Soul-light (28)
Her Gifts (31)	Hope Overtaken (42)
Equal Troth (32)	Without Her (53)
Venus Victrix (33)	Love's Fatality (54)
The Lamp's Shine (35)	From Dawn to Noon (80)
Gracious Moonlight (20)	Transfigured Life (60)
Love Enthroned (1)	Life the Beloved (96)
Heart's Hope (5)	Severed Selves (40)
Youth's Antiphony (13)	Hero's Lamp (88)
Youth's Spring-tribute (14)	The Trees of the Garden (89)
Beauty's Pageant (17)	The Sun's Shame 2 (93)
Genius in Beauty (18)	The Song-throe (61)
Silent Noon (19)	The Soul's Sphere (62)
Mid-rapture (26)	Love's Last Gift (59) ¹
The Heart of the Night (66) 1874?	Pride of Youth (24) 1880
Memorial Thresholds (81) 1874?	Michelangelo's Kiss (94) 1881
Ardour and Memory (64) 1879	True Woman (56-58) 1881
Introductory Sonnet 1880	

If this suggested chronology is approximately correct, the known facts of the poet's life ought to give some clue to the interpretation of the sonnets written at a particular period, and the sonnets in turn ought to throw light on the inner and more profound emotional experiences of the poet. Let us consider this relationship a little in detail.

"Old and New Art," three sonnets written in 1848-49, and "The Choice," three sonnets written in 1848, belong to the beginning of Rossetti's career, when he was the acknowledged leader of the so-called Pre-Raphaelite Movement, a revolt against conventionalities in painting, a renaissance in poetry of the mediaeval spirit of wonder. Much has been written of the aims and ideas of this school, but I doubt if a better statement of the principles can be found within the same compass than the sonnets on "Old and New Art." Art shall

¹ At least twenty-four of these undated sonnets belong to 1871.

again be the handmaid of religion. The true painter and the true poet are not as those "for whom only rhyme wins fame as poets, only paint as painters." Their eyes

see on and far
Into the lights of the great Past, new lit
Fair for the Future's track.

God sent the great artists of the past into his vineyard; they bore the worst burden of the heat and the dry thirst; and none such as these were have since been found to do their work like them. Yet

because of this
Stand not ye idle in the market place.
Which of you knoweth he is not that last
Who may be first by faith and will? Yea his
The hand which after the appointed days
And hours shall give a Future to their Past.

The three sonnets entitled "The Choice" begin in turn:

"Eat thou and drink; tomorrow thou shalt die."
"Watch thou and fear; tomorrow thou shalt die."
"Think thou and act; tomorrow thou shalt die."

They explain remarkably well the three characteristics which distinguished Rossetti in this early period: a sensuous love of beauty, a reverence for religious mysticism, and a belief that man has not yet achieved his high destiny. Taken together with the sonnets on "Old and New Art," they give a fairly adequate and intimate picture of Rossetti at the beginning of his career.

The early fifties were years of struggle. His pictures were not appreciated; it seemed impossible to live by his art. Even the famous "Annunciation," now in the Tate Gallery of London, remained long upon his hands unsold—"a blessed white daub," as he himself called it. He began now to realize his technical limitations. He had revolted against the routine of the drawing school; he had avoided the tedious training of the life school; he had painted with protest and disgust the "pickle jars" which Ford Madox Brown put before him; he had insisted on beginning with a real picture in the studio of Holman Hunt. Technical difficulties now balked the adequate expression of his genius. He was distracted, too, by the double interest of painting and poetry. He found himself writing

verse when he felt that he ought to be struggling with his painting, and yet neither art was able to put money in his purse.

This state of mind is reflected in the sonnets of that period. In "Known in Vain" (1853) he bewails the time

When Work and Will awake too late, to gaze
After their life sailed by, and hold their breath.
Ah! who shall dare to search through what sad maze
Thenceforth their incommunicable ways
Follow the desultory feet of death?

"Lost on Both Sides" (1854) tells that "as when two men have loved a woman well" and both have lost her,

So separate hopes, which in a soul had wooed
The one same Peace, strove with each other long,
And Peace before their faces perished since;
So through that soul in restless brotherhood,
They roam together now, and wind among
Its by-streets, knocking at the dusty inns.

But the most poignant expression is in "Lost Days" (1858?), which must be quoted entire.

The lost days of my life until today,
What were they, could I see them on the street
Lie as they fell? Would they be ears of wheat
Sown once for food, but trodden into clay?
Or golden coins squandered and still to pay?
Or drops of blood dabbling the guilty feet?
Or such spilt water as in dreams must cheat
The undying throats of Hell, athirst alway?

I do not see them here; but after death
God knows I know the faces I shall see,
Each one a murdered self, with low last breath,
"I am thyself—what hast thou done to me?"
"And I—and I—thyself," (lo! each one saith.)
"And thou thyself to all eternity."

But there were still more important experiences during these years. In 1850 Rossetti met Miss Siddal, and they were engaged, perhaps as early as 1851, to be married. The first years of their association were joyful; for he was an ardent, devoted lover; they were much together reading and painting; and her nature expanded

and blossomed under his influence. Their marriage, however, was delayed until 1860 partly on account of straitened finances, partly on account of Miss Siddal's failing health, partly perhaps on account of a new and disturbing element which entered into Rossetti's experience about 1857 and which we shall presently consider. Their married life was not altogether happy, and it ended, after a brief two years, in Mrs. Rossetti's pathetic death. Love was for them a mingled romance and tragedy.

The love sonnets reflect very clearly the peculiarities of Rossetti's emotional life at this period. He was emphatically a painter with the painter's habit of visualizing emotion. It was natural for him to confuse spiritual and concrete beauty, to emphasize the physical aspect of love, to think of the spiritual as an accident of the physical. Buchanan's criticism is easily understood. It was unjust and was afterward retracted, but it was not wholly without excuse. Rossetti's mind was not sensual; but it was distinctly sensuous and that too with an Italian sensuousness which might well seem indelicate to the characteristic English reserve. "Nuptial Sleep" was very judiciously omitted from the later editions. "Supreme Surrender," which was retained, is perhaps over-voluptuous. Still there was from the beginning a spirituality that lifted his work above mere animalism. The octave of "Love-sweetness" is exceedingly sensuous, but the fine image of the sestet lifts the sonnet above the merely sensual.

For six or seven years after the death of his wife, Rossetti devoted himself assiduously to painting, writing scarcely a line of poetry except a few sonnets for pictures; but, in 1868, when trouble with his eyes forced him for a time to give up painting, he went into the country, and through the persuasions of friends, he entered upon his second period of poetic production. Between 1868 and 1871 nearly half of the sonnets of *The House of Life* were written.

By this time his experience had been idealized by reflection. To be sure, this was no Wordsworthian case of "emotion recollected in tranquility," rather of passion recollected in anguish, love shackled with vain longing and despair. Sorrow had deepened, remorse had darkened, the poet's emotional life. Yet the passion had been chastened by reflection, nay it had been transformed into a more idealized, more spiritual love. Nothing could quite change the

poet's sensuous nature, yet the emphasis had been shifted from the physical to the spiritual, and the imaginative texture of the emotion had become closer and more delicate. The sonnet "Mid-rapture," already quoted, exemplifies this. "Heart's Compass" (1871) is another typical example:

Sometimes thou seem'st not as thyself alone,
 But as the meaning of all things that are;
 A breathless wonder, shadowing forth afar
 Some heavenly solstice hushed and halcyon;
 Whose unstirred lips are music's visible tone;
 Whose eyes the sun-gate of the soul unbar,
 Being of its furthest fires oracular;—
 The evident heart of all life sown and mown.

Even such is love; and is not thy name Love?
 Yea, by thy hand the Love-god rends apart
 All gathering clouds of Night's ambiguous art;
 Flings them far down, and sets thine eyes above;
 And simply, as some gage of flower or glove,
 Stakes with a smile the world against thy heart.

The later sonnets, however, are prevailingly melancholy. They tell of regret, disappointment, doubt, despair, the anguish of a broken, remorseful life, the cry of a spirit that has suffered deeply and not found solace. Here is a sonnet of which Rossetti said to Hall Caine, "I cannot tell you at what terrible moment it was wrung from me":

WITHOUT HER

What of her glass without her? the blank gray
 There where the pool is blind of the moon's face.
 Her dress without her? The tossed empty space
 Of cloud-rack whence the moon has passed away.
 Her paths without her? Day's appointed sway
 Usurped by desolate night. Her pillowed place
 Without her? Tears, ah me! for love's good grace,
 And cold forgetfulness of night or day.
 What of the heart without her? Nay, poor heart,
 Of thee what word remains ere speech be still?
 A wayfarer by barren ways and chill,
 Steep ways and weary, without her thou art,
 Where the long cloud, the long wood's counterpart,
 Sheds double darkness up the laboring hill.

Even night brings no solace, only sleepless anguish:

O lonely night art thou not known to me
A thicket hung with masks of mockery
And watered with the wasteful warmth of tears.

But this is not all. These sonnets tell of more than the common sorrow of bereavement; they suggest a more complicated spiritual tragedy. They tell of a new love by the side of the old and of the inner conflict between the old love and the new. This conflict of loves is the subject of "The Love-moon":

When that dead face, bowered in the furthest years,
Which once was all the life years held for thee,
Can now scarce bid the tides of memory
Cast on thy soul a little spray of tears,
How canst thou gaze into these eyes of hers
Whom now thy heart delights in, and not see
Within each orb Love's philtred euphrasy
Make them of buried troth remembrancers?
Nay, pitiful Love, nay, loving Pity! Well
Thou knowest that in these twain I have confessed
Two very voices of the summoning bell.
Nay, Master, shall not Death make manifest
In these the culminating changes which approve
The love-moon that must light my soul to love?

"Stillborn Love" tells of the despair of this new unsatisfied love:

The hour which might have been yet might not be,
Which man's and woman's heart conceived and bore
Yet whereof life was barren, on what shore
Bides it the breaking of Time's weary sea?
Bondchild of all consummate joys set free,
It somewhere sighs and serves, and mute before
The house of Love, hears through the echoing door
His hours elect in choral consonancy.
But lo! what wedded souls now hand in hand
Together tread at last the immortal strand
With eyes where burning memory lights love home?
Lo! how the little outcast hour has turned
And leaped to them and in their faces yearned:
"I am thy child: O parents, ye have come!"

"Love's Fatality" and "Life-in-love" may, perhaps, point to the same experience.

It is true that of these sonnets having to do with a new love "The Love-moon" and "Life-in-love" have some general similarities to two sonnets in Dante's *Vita Nuova*.¹ Dante tells how the new feeling for the lady of compassion threatens to dim the loving memory of his blessed lady Beatrice, and in two sonnets chides the eyes and chides the heart for yielding to the new love. But the Rossetti sonnets are like Dante's only in the general conception, not in detailed workmanship. They may owe something to Dante, yet there is reason to believe that they are not mere literary exercises, but represent a real experience of the poet, the tragedy of conflicting loves. Lady Burné-Jones, in speaking of her first meeting with the Rossettis in 1860, said, "I then received an impression which never wore away, of romance and tragedy between her and her husband."² And Holman Hunt has referred to an experience of Rossetti with another woman than Miss Siddal about 1857.³ But these are only vague references. Hall Caine is more specific. In speaking of the change which came into the poet's life in the late fifties, when he became intimate with Burne-Jones, Swinburne, and the Morrisises, he says:

What effect these new friendships, any or all of them, may have had on the relation in which he still stood to Miss Siddal, it would perhaps be hard to say, but I think that evidences are not wanting in the poems written about this period of a new disturbing element, a painful and even tragic awakening, a sense of great passion coming too late, and above all a struggle between love and duty which augured less than well for the happiness of the marriage that was to come.⁴

He tells further that in the long journey in 1881 when he was bringing Rossetti home from Cumberland to London, as both thought to die, the poet revealed to him the secret of his life. Mr. Caine does not quote the poet's words, but says that if he were to reconstruct his character from the conversation of that night—

it would be the figure of a man who, after engaging himself to one woman in all honor and good faith, had fallen in love with another and then gone on to marry the first out of a mistaken sense of loyalty and a fear of giving pain instead of stopping, as he must have done if his will had been stronger and his heart sterner, at the door of the church itself. It would be the figure of a man who realized that the good woman he had married was reading his secret in spite of his efforts to conceal it, and thereby losing all joy and

¹ D. G. Rossetti, *Collected Works*, I, 88, 90.

² Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, I, 208.

³ W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Letters and Memoir*, p. 201.

⁴ T. Hall Caine, *My Story* (1909), pp. 81-82.

interest in life. It would be the figure of a man who, coming home late at night to find his wife dying, probably by her own hand, was overwhelmed by remorse, not perhaps for any unkindness, any want of attention, still less any act of infidelity on his part, but for the far deeper wrong of failure of affection for the one being to whom affection was most due.¹

These sonnets, then, rightly understood, take on a profound human interest and make more clear and intelligible the poet's melancholy and desolation and despair. We see him no longer as simply weak, wayward, uncertain, performing a supreme act of renunciation for love of his wife, dead by accident, then repenting of his action and undoing it; and afterward isolating himself from life and intimate friends and giving himself up to the influence of a drug, because, forsooth, a rival poet had been jealous of his success. We see him rather a pathetic, even a tragic, figure speaking to us out of the depths of real suffering and remorse. The sonnets are a genuine expression of romance and tragedy, of joy and sorrow and futility, in an essentially noble life gifted above most, but with common human frailty. Rossetti never quite reached spiritual heights of serenity and peace. He saw no beatific vision. *The House of Life* does not solve any great intellectual problem; it does not show the triumph of religious faith; but its appeal to the human heart is poignant and sincere, and it shows that the poet's life was not utterly futile and morbid. He did gradually purify and idealize his emotional life. There is even a note of resignation at the last in sonnets like "The Heart of the Night," written in 1874:

From child to youth; from youth to arduous man;
 From lethargy to fever of the heart;
 From faithful life to dream-dowered days apart;
 From trust to doubt; from doubt to brink of ban;—
 Thus much of change in one swift cycle ran
 Till now. Alas, the soul! how soon must she
 Accept her primal immortality,
 The flesh resume its dust whence it began?
 O Lord of work and peace! O Lord of life!
 O Lord, the awful Lord of will! though late
 Even yet renew this soul with duteous breath;
 That when the peace is garnered in from strife,
 The work retrieved, the will regenerate,
 This soul may see thy face, O Lord of death!

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¹ T. Hall Caine, *My Story*, pp. 196-97.

SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR JONSON'S *UNDERWOODS* AND MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

Up to the present time it cannot be said that we know a great deal about the sources of the *Underwoods*. Gifford and Whalley marked a few classical passages that Jonson utilized; Amos, in *Martial and the Moderns*, pointed out a good many borrowings from that poet, while occasionally in *Notes and Queries* and elsewhere a stray bit of indebtedness is indicated. An immense amount, however, remains to be done before we shall be able to understand just what Jonson's poetry amounts to, just what he himself contributed, just what he took from others. In the following pages something is done, I hope, toward elucidating this point,¹ but no discussion is attempted of the bearing the facts brought forward have upon our estimate of Jonson's verse. I am not at present inclined to think that this estimate will be much lowered, though it doubtless will be somewhat changed.

The pieces in *Underwoods* are referred to in accordance with Cunningham's nine-volume reissue of Gifford, but the text is taken directly from the Folio. I have made no intentional changes in the passages quoted, but have given the original with all its misprints and mispunctuations. The Latin texts quoted have been those nearest at hand.

I. UNDERWOODS

Underwoods, "Charis," No. 2: The central situation is supplied by Hieronymus Angerianus, *Carm. Illustrum Poet. Ital.*, 1719, I, 292:

De Caelia, & Cupidine.
Vidit Amor dominam, stupuit; cecidere sagittae.
Armavit sese Caelia, fugit Amor.

Underwoods, "Charis," No. 6: Tibullus iv. 2. 7 ff. may have supplied the theme, though Jonson has developed it after his own fashion.

¹ Something of a similar nature is attempted for the *Epigrams* and *Forest* in an article published in *Classical Philology*, XI, pp. 169 ff.

Illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia movit,
componit furtim subsequiturque Decor.
seu solvit crines, etc.

Cf. also Propertius ii. 1. 4-16, where a similar thought is worked out.

Und. iii: See below under lvii.

Und. viii: I have pointed out the source of the last line in my article in *Modern Philology*, X, 573 ff.

Und. x:

'Tis true, he could not reprehend
His very Manners, taught t' amend,
They were so even, grave, and holy;
No stubbornnesse so stiffe, nor folly
To licence ever was so light,
As twice to trespassse in his sight,
His lookes would so correct it, when
It chid the vice, yet not the Men.
Much from him I professe I wonne,
And more, and more, I should have done,
But that I understood him scant.

Jonson seems to have remembered something of the description of the philosopher Euphrates in Pliny *Epist.* i. 10:

est enim obvius et expositus plenusque humanitate, quam praecipit. atque utinam sic ipse quam spem tunc ille de me concepit impleverim, ut ille multum virtutibus suis addidit! aut ego nunc illas magis miror, quia magis intellego. quamquam ne nunc quidem satis intellego. . . . nullus horror in cultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis: reverearis occursum, non reformides. vitae sanctitas summa, comitas par: insectatur vitia, non homines, nec castigat errantes, sed emendat.

Und. xii: The main critical doctrine enunciated by Jonson in this piece is that nature and art must co-operate. He is of course directly inspired by Horace *De arte poetica* 408:

Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium: alterius sic
altera poscit opem et coniurat amice.

So Jonson's simile of the anvil was suggested by the same author, *ibid.* 440:

delere iubebat
et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.

But these wayes
 Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise:
 For seeliest Ignorance on these may light,
 Which, when it sounds at best, but eccho's right;
 Or blinde Affection, which doth ne're advance
 The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance;
 Or crafty Malice, might pretend this praise,
 And thinke to ruine, where it seem'd to raise.

Bacon, Essay LIII, "Of Praise":

There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery. . . . Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy toward them; *pessimus genus inimicorum laudantium*; insomuch that it was a proverb among the Grecians, that he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose; as we say, that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie. Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Salomon saith, He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.

This doctrine of moderate praise will explain why Jonson's language has appeared to various readers as "sparing and invidious." Note in this connection the passages cited below under *Und.* xxxi.

In reading Jonson's tribute to Shakespeare, I have been rather puzzled as to just what he meant by the expression,

turne the same,
 (And himselfe with it), etc.

Why is the poet to turn himself? How can he turn himself in anything like the same way as that in which the verse is turned? The general idea is perhaps clear enough, but the language is remarkable, and I have come to the conclusion that almost every strange expression in Jonson has its special explanation. In Latin *torqueo* means to turn, and Horace uses the word in a passage (*Epist.* ii. 2. 124) in which he is discussing precisely the same topic that Jonson is here occupied with. The poet who wishes to write a *legitimum poema* (cf. "Who casts to write a living line"),

ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui
 nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.

He will turn and twist himself like a mime. As one commentator puts it: "The idea is that grace and ease of style comes through slow

and diligent training, just as the apparently simple movements of the dance. As *ludere* may mean *to dance*, and *torqueri*, *to turn oneself*, the comparison of the next verse is readily suggested." It would seem then that Jonson expects his readers to recognize the allusion to the Horatian passage and to vary the meaning of the word "turn" accordingly.

Und. xxx: I pointed out, before I knew of Castelain's discussion in his edition of *Discoveries*, pp. 143 ff., most of the Senecan sources of this piece in *Modern Philology*, X, 573 ff. My excuse for returning to the subject here is that there are still one or two passages worth quoting from Seneca, while Castelain, though he quotes Plutarch, overlooks a number of places where Jonson was unquestionably making use of that author. Thus Jonson's full indebtedness has not yet been brought out.

enquire

Like Money-brokers; after Names.

Horace *Serm. i. 2. 16:*

nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili.

I have the lyst of mine owne faults to know,
Looke too and cure; Hee's not a man hath none, 115

But like to be, that every day mends one,
And feelles it; Else he tarries by the Beast,
Can I discerne how shadowes are decreast,
Or growne; by height or lownesse of the Sunne? 120

And can I lesse of substance? when I runne,
Ride, saile, am coach'd, know I how farre I have gone,
And my minds motion not? or have I none:
No! he must feele and know, that I will advance
Men have beene great, but never good by chance, 125

Or on the sudden. . . .
'Tis by degrees that men arrive at glad
Profit in ought each day some little adde,
In time 'twill be a heape; This is not true
Alone in money, but in manners too.

Yet we must more then move still, or goe on, 135
We must accomplish; 'Tis the last Key-stone
That makes the Arch, The rest that there were put
Are nothing till that comes to bind and shut.

Then stands it a triumphall marke! then Men
Observe the strength, the height, the why, and when, 140

It was erected; and still walking under
 Meet some new matter to looke up and wonder!
 Such Notes are vertuous men! they live as fast
 As they are high; are rooted and will last.
 They need no stilts, nor rise upon their toes, 145
 As if they would belie their stature, those
 Are Dwarfes of Honour, and have neither weight
 Nor fashion. . . .

114-25. *De vita beata* xvii. 3:

non sum sapiens nec ero hoc mihi satis est, cotidie
 aliquid ex vitiis meis demere.

In more than one place Seneca points out that no human being can attain the ideal state of wisdom and virtue, i.e., he's not a man (for he is more than a man) that hath no faults.

124-25. I compared in my article Juvenal ii. 83. Better parallels are these from Seneca *Epist.* xlii. 1:

vir bonus tam cito nec fieri potest nec intellegi;
 and xxiii. 16:

Nemo est casu bonus. discenda virtus est.

118-25, 130-34. Plutarch, *How a Man May Be Sensible of His Progress in Virtue*, trans. of 1870, ii. 449:

You know the art of navigation; when the seamen hoist sail for the main ocean, they give judgment of their voyage by observing together the space of time and the force of the wind that driveth them, and compute that, in all probability, in so many months, with such a gale, they have gone forward to such or such a place. Just so it is in the study of philosophy. . . . He that is always at his business, constantly upon the road, never makes any stops or halts, nor meets with obstacles and lets in the way, but under the conduct of right reason travels smoothly, securely, and quietly along, may be assured that he has one true sign of the proficient. This of the poet,

Add many lesser numbers in account,
 Your total will to a vast sum amount,

not only holds true as to the increase of money, but also may serve as a rule to the knowledge of the advance of everything else, especially of proficiency in virtue.

The quotation, according to the note given, is from Hesiod *Works and Days* 361.

136-38. Plut., *ibid.*, 474:

But the proficient in virtue, who have already laid the golden solid foundation of a virtuous life, as of a sacred and royal building, take especial care of the whole work, examine and model every part of it according to the rule of reason, believing that it was well said by Polycletus that the hardest work remained for them to do whose nails must touch the clay—that is, to lay the top stone is the great business and masterpiece of the work. The last stroke gives beauty and perfection to the whole piece.

145-46. Sen. *Epist.* cxi. 3:

talis est verus philosophus non exsurgit in plantas nec summis ambulat digitis eorum more, qui mendacio staturam adiuvant longioresque quam sunt videri volunt: contentus est magnitudine sua.

Und. xxxi: When Jonson remarks that there is not a more pernicious enemy to study than injudicious praise, he perhaps is recalling some such passage as that in Seneca *Ep.* cii. 16:

et cum aequae antiquus poeta ait: laus alit artes, non laudationem dicit, quae corrumpit artes. nihil enim aequae et eloquentiam et omne aliud studium auribus deditum vitiauit quam popularis adsensio.

Not flie the Crime, but the Suspicion too.

This and the lines following it, in which Jonson carefully explains why what he does in this poem differs somewhat from his former practice, should be compared with Bacon, Essay XI:

And avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion [of bribery]. Who-soever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal it.

With Jonson's explanation of the reason why he praised some men too much, compare Bacon, Essay LIII:

Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando praecipere*, when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be.

Since being deceiv'd, I turne a sharper eye
Upon my selfe, and aske to whom? and why?
And what I write? and vexes it many dayes
Before men get a verse: much lesse a Praise.

Horace *Epist.* i. 18. 68, 76:

quid de quoque viro et cui dicas, saepe videto. . . .
Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice.

I wonder'd at the riches, but am lost
To see the workmanship so exceed the cost!

Ovid: *Met.* ii. 5:

Materiam superabat opus.

With the latter part of the poem compare the following passage from Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, I:

Books (such as are worthy the name of books) ought to have no patrons but truth and reason; and the ancient custom was to dedicate them only to private and equal friends, or to intitle the books with their names; or if to kings and great persons, it was to some such as the argument of the book was fit and proper for.

With Jonson's commendation of the dedication to Heywood and his explanation of why the dedication was suitable, compare from Selden's own dedication (I quote from the edition of 1631, as the first is not accessible):

DEER SIR. You are one that can rightly esteeme a worke and iudge both of it, and of the ability that begets it. And to such only are these kind of gifts to be thus presented. Loue and Honor are best testified by what fits the quality to which you giue them. . . . But the truly Generous soule well knowes and freely vses its owne strength, not only in prudently gaining and iudging of what it selfe selects and loues best within the vast Circle of knowledge [which may have suggested Jonson's own use of the phrase earlier in the poem], but in iustly valuing also what another chuses there. . . . I confesse, Sir, your Nobler Contemplations, of Nature and the Mathematiques, are farre remote from the Subiect I giue you. Yet there is habitude euen betweene it and them also. . . . Thus some parts of your own Studies, may perhaps be sometimes pleased with it.

Und. xxxii:

Bought Flatteries, the issue of his purse.

Juv. x. 46:

niveos ad frena Quirites,
defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.

Here of course the purse belongs to the flatterer, not to the flattered; but a passage recalled vaguely would easily suffer such a change.

lay his fortune out to show
Till envie wound, or maimed it at a blow!

Ibid. 56-58:

quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina

See him, that's call'd, and thought the happiest man,
Honour'd at once, and envi'd (if it can
Be honour is so mixt) by such as would
For all their spight be like him if they could.

Sen. *De ben.* i. 9. 2: "colunt enim detestanturque felicem et, si
potuerint, eadem facturi, odere facientem."

Where Pittes, or Wright, or Modet would not venter.

So Lesbia, in Martial i. 34, is more immodest than a prostitute:

A Chione saltem vel ab Iade discere pudorem.

Adulteries now, are not so hid, or strange,
They're growne Commoditie upon Exchange;
He that will follow but anothers wife,
Is lov'd, though he let out his owne for life:
The Husband now's call'd churlish, or a poore
Nature, that will not let his Wife be a whore;
Or use all arts, or haunt all Companies
That may corrupt her, even in his eyes.
The brother trades a sister; and the friend
Lives to the Lord, but to the Ladies end.
Lesse must not be thought on then Mistresse: or
If it be thought kild like her Embrions; for,
Whom no great Mistresse, hath as yet infam'd
A fellow of course Letcherie, is nam'd
The Servant of the Serving-woman in scorne,
Ne're came to taste the plenteous Mariage-horne.

Thus they doe talke. And are these objects fit
For man to spend his money on? his wit?
His time? health? soule? will he for these goe throw
Those thousands on his back, shall after blow
His body to the Counters, or the Fleete?
Is it for these that fine man meets the street
Coach'd, or on foot-cloth, thrice chang'd every day,
To teach each suit, he has the ready way
From Hide-Parke to the Stage, where at the last
His deare and borrow'd Bravery he must cast?
When not his Combes, his Curling-irons, his Glasse,

Sweet bags, sweet Powders, nor sweet words will passe
 For lesse Securitie? O for these
 Is it that man pulls on himselfe Disease?
 Surfet? and Quarrell? drinke the tother health?
 Or by Damnation voids it? or by stealth?
 What furie of late is crept into our Feasts?
 What honour given to the drunkennest Guests?
 What reputation to beare one Glasse more?
 When oft the Bearer, is borne out of dore?
 This hath our ill-us'd freedome, and soft peace
 Brought on us, and will every houre increase
 Our vices, doe not tarry in a place,
 But being in Motion still (or rather in race)
 Tilt one upon another, and now beare
 This way, now that, as if their number were
 More then themselves, or then our lives could take,
 But both fell prest under the load they make.

This whole passage is chiefly based on *De ben.* i. 9. 3-4; 10. 2-3:

Coniugibus alienis ne clam quidem, sed aperte ludibrio aditis suas aliis permisere. Rusticus, inhumanus ac mali moris et inter matronas abominanda condicio est, si quis coniugem suam in sella prostare vetuit et volgo admissis inspectoribus vehi perspicuam undique. Si quis nulla se amica fecit insignem nec alienae uxori annum praestat, hunc matronae humilem et sordidae libidinis et ancillariolum vocant. Decentissimum sponsaliorum genus est adulterium. et in consensu vidui caelibatus nemo uxorem duxit, nisi qui abduxit . . . nunc cultus corporum nimius et formae cura prae se ferens animi deformitatem. nunc in petulantiam et audaciam erumpet male dispensata libertas. nunc in crudelitatem privatam ac publicam ibitur bellorumque civilium insaniam, qua omne sanctum ac sacrum profanetur. habebitur aliquando ebrietati honor et plurimum meri cepisse virtus erit. Non expectant uno loco vitia, sed mobilia et inter se dissidentia tumultuantur, pellunt invicem fuganturque: ceterum idem semper de nobis pronuntiare debemus, malos esse nos, malos fuisse, invitus adiciam et futuros esse.

When he wrote about the evils of soft peace, Jonson had more or less consciously in mind the "nunc patimur longae pacis mala, saevior armis" of *Juv.* vi. 292, as well as the "male dispensata libertas" of Seneca.

He that no more for Age, Cramps, Palsies, can
 Now use the bones, we see doth hire a man
 To take the box up for him; and pursues
 The Dice with glassen eyes.

Horace *Serm.* ii. 7. 15-18:

Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra
contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
conductum pavit.

Erasmus uses this passage also in the *Praise of Folly*.

or have we got
In this, and like, an itch of Vanitie,
That scratching now's our best Felicitie?

Sen. *De tranq. animi.* ii. 11-12:

grata omnis illi excitandi se abstrahendique materia est, gratior pessimis
quibusque ingeniis, quae occupationibus libenter deterunter, ut ulcera quae-
dam nocituras manus adpetant et tactu gaudent et foedam corporum scabiem
delectat, quicquid exasperat: non aliter dixerim his mentibus, in quas
cupiditates velut mala ulcera eruperunt, voluptati esse laborem vexation-
emque.

Und. xxxv:

I can helpe that with boldnesse; And love sware,
And fortune once, t'assist the spirits that dare.

It may very well be that Jonson had in mind the two proverbs that
Gifford speaks of, but it is worth noting that the two proverbs had
already been joined by a writer with whom Jonson was very familiar;
Ovid has, *Ars amatoria* i. 607 ff., the following lines:

fuge rustica longe
Hinc Pudor! audentem Forsque Venusque iuvat.

The addition of the third idea (boldness = *fuge Pudor*) makes the
borrowing practically certain.

Und. xxxvi:

By those bright Eyes, at whose immortall fires
Love lights his torches to inflame desires.

Tibullus iv. 2. 5-6:

illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,
accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.

Und. xli:

Minds that are great and free,
Should not on fortune pause,
'Tis crowne enough to vertue still, her owne applause.

Sen. *De vita beata*. ix:

non enim hanc [voluptatem] praestat [virtus], sed et hanc, nec huic laborat, sed labor eius, quamvis aliud petat, hoc quoque adsequetur. . . . Itaque erras, cum interrogas, quid sit illud propter quod virtutem petam: quaeris enim aliquid supra summum. interrogas, quid petam ex virtute? ipsam. nihil enim habet melius, ipse pretium est.

So *De Clementia* i. 1: "quamvis enim recte factorum verus fructus sit fecisse," and see *Epist.* lxxi. 19, and Claudian *De cons. Manl. Theod. Paneg.* 1-3.

Und. xlii: Gifford rightly noted that this poem cannot well be understood without a reference to the frontispiece which it describes, but he did not feel that it was any part of his editorial duty to furnish the reader with the requisite information. I give here a description before pointing out the source of the poem. At the top is the eye of Providence; just below is the world, on either side of which stand Fama Mala and Fama Bona. The world rests in the upturned hands of Magistra Vitae, i.e., History, who in turn has one foot upon a skeleton, Mors, the other upon Oblivio. On one side of History stands, in a niche between two pillars, Experientia, with her wand and plummet; one of the pillars, inscribed Testis Temporum, is adorned with figures of books; the other, entitled Nuncia Vetustatis, bears various symbols, some of a mathematical, others apparently of an astrological, character. In a corresponding niche on the other side stands Veritas, naked of course, and with her upraised right hand encircled with flames; her pillars are: Lux Veritatis, adorned with flames; Vita Memoriae, bearing a flourishing vine. Thus every line of the poem refers to a particular part of the frontispiece, which was engraved by Elstrack. The source of Jonson's poem and of the design of the engraving is found in Cicero *De or.* ii. 9:

Eadem facultate et fraus hominum ad perniciem, et integritas ad salutem, vocatur. Quis cohortari ad virtutem ardentius, quis a vitiis acrius revocare, quis vituperare improbos asperius, quis laudare bonos ornatius, quis cupiditatem vehementius frangere accusando, potest? quis moerorem levare mitius consolando? Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuncia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi oratoris, immortalitati commendatur?

Und. xlv: Gifford notes the quotation from Horace, but the poem as a whole was evidently suggested by Propertius ii. 34. 85 ff.:

haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,
 Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae.
 haec quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,
 Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena.
 haec etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,
 cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.
 et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
 mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua!
 Cynthia quin etiam versu laudata Properti,
 hos inter si me ponere Fama volet.

Und. li: Gifford has noted the quotation from Lucan, but the main sources of the piece he overlooked. Some lines are suggested by a poem by Dousa. There is no edition accessible to me at the moment, but Burton in the *Anatomy* quotes twice from him in dealing with the topic of lawyers (see pp. 46, 205, of the ordinary one-volume edition of the *Anatomy*). In the second reference Burton cites "Ja. Dousa Epodon. lib. 2. car. 2.", and quotes as follows:

Quibus loquacis affatim arrogantiae est,
 Peritiae parum aut nihil,
 Nec ulla mica literarii salis,
 Crumenimulga natio:
 Loquuteleia turba, litium strophae,
 Maligna litigantium cohors, togati vultures,
 Lavernae alumni, Agyrtes, &c.

Compare Jonson:

But when I read or heare the names so rife
 Of hirelings, wranglers, stitchers-to of strife,
 Hook-handed Harpies, gowned vultures, put
 Upon the reverend Pleaders.

Such is what Jonson calls, a line or two farther on, "Dogs eloquence." The phrase is from Quintilian xii. 9. 9. This fact leads me to point out that Jonson praises his counselor in accordance with the qualifications Quintilian demands that he should possess. He must of course be a good and learned man. He should be careful what causes he undertakes, and must even on examination refuse to carry

on a case already accepted if he think it unjust; ll. 16-22 of Jonson are apparently based on xii. 7. 6 and 7 of Quintilian.

Another author borrowed from is Tacitus.

As if the generall store thou didst command
Of Argument, still drawing forth the best,
And not being borrowed by thee, but possesst.
So comm'st thou like a Chiefe into the Court
Arm'd at all peecees
Then com'st thou off with Victorie and Palme,
Thy Hearers Nectar. . . .

Dial. de orat. 32:

primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur . . . idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo, nisi eum, qui tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit.

Und. lv: "Mix spirits" is a Latinism; cf. Cicero *De amic. xxi*; and for the doctrine of Jonson's poem, cf. *ibid. xxxiii-xxvi*.

Und. lvi: Who but Jonson would ever have thought of making a love elegy out of a number of scraps from Seneca's *De Clementia*? All my quotations are from the first book.

15-18. xxi. 3:

Hoc est etiam ex victoria sua triumphare testarique nihil se quod dignum esset victore apud victos invenisse.

And the doctrine of the whole chapter is to the effect that one should not wantonly revenge.

28-30. xxi. 2:

quisquis ex alto ad inimici pedes abiectus alienam de capite regnoque sententiam expectavit, in servatoris sui gloriam vivit plusque nomini eius confert incolumis, quam si ex oculis ablatum est.

40-50. xiv:

Quod ergo officium eius est? quod bonorum parentum, qui obiurgare liberos nonnumquam blande, nonnumquam minaciter solent, aliquando admonere etiam verberibus. Numquid aliquis sanus filium a prima offensa exheredat? nisi magnae et multae iniuriae patientiam evicerint, nisi plus est quod timet quam quod damnat, non accedit ad decretorium

stilum. multa ante temptat, quibus dubiam indolem et peiore loco iam positam revocet: simul deploratum est, ultima experitur. nemo ad supplicia exigenda pervenit, nisi qui remedia consumpsit. . . . Tarde sibi pater membra sua abscidat. etiam cum absciderit, reponere cupiat et in abscondendo gemat cunctatus multum diuque.

51-52. xvii. 2:

Mali medici est desperare . . . agat princeps curam non tantum salutis, sed etiam honestae cicatricis.

67 ff. vii. 1-3:

Quoniam deorum feci mentionem, optime hoc exemplum principi constituam, ad quod formetur, ut se talem esse civibus, quales sibi deos velit. Expedit ergo habere inexorabilia peccatis atque erroribus numina? expedit usque ad ultimam infesta perniciem? et quis regum erit tutus, cuius non membra haruspices colligant? Quod si di placabiles et aequi delicta potentium non statim fulminibus persequuntur, quanto aequius est hominem hominibus praepositum miti animo exercere imperium et cogitare, utrum mundi status gravior oculis pulchriorque sit sereno et puro die an quum fragoribus crebris omnia quatiuntur et ignes hinc atque illinc micant? atqui non alia facies est quieti moratique imperii quam sereni coeli et nitentis. Crudele regnum turbidum tenebrisque obscurum est, inter tremantes et ad repentinum sonitum expavescentes ne eo quidem qui omnia perturbat inconcusso. Facilius privatis ignoscitur pertinaciter se vindicantibus. possunt enim laedi dolorque eorum ab iniuria venit. timent praeterea contemptum, et non retulisse laedentibus gratiam infirmitas videtur, non clementia.

And viii. 5:

Ut fulmina paucorum periculo cadunt, omnium metu, sic animadversiones magnarum potestatum terrent latius quam nocent.

99-104. Plut., *How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems*, trans. 1870, ii. 76:

For which purpose Plato teacheth us that we ought to inure ourselves to fear blame and disgrace more than labor and danger.

105-6. xxii. 3:

Constituit bonos mores civitati princeps et vitia eius facilius reprimat, si patiens eorum est, non tamquam probet, sed tamquam invitatus et cum magno tormento ad castigandum veniat: verecundiam peccandi facit ipsa clementia regentis.

Und. lvii:

Are vows so cheape with women? or the matter
Whereof they are made, that they are writ in water?

Catullus lxx:

dicat: sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,
in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

Who could have thought so many accents sweet
. . . . could now prove empty blisses?
Did you draw bonds to forfeit?

Tibullus iii. 4. 83-84:

nec tibi crediderim votis contraria vota
nec tantum crimen pectore inesse tuo.

Sooner I'll think the Sunne would cease to cheare
The teeming Earth, and that forget to beare;
Sooner that Rivers would run back, or Thames
With ribs of Ice in June would bind his streames:
Or Nature, by whose strength the world indures,
Would change her course, before you alter yours.

This form of adjuration is common enough to all poetry, from classical times down, and I cannot point out a special passage from which this one might have been taken. Two bits in Propertius are, however, apt:

i. 15. 29-30:

muta prius vasto labentur flumina ponto,
annus et inversas duxerit ante vices,
quam, etc.

iii. 19. 5 ff.:

flamma per incensas citius sedetur aristas
fluminaque ad fontis sint reditura caput, etc.

like Painters that doe take
Delight, not in made workes, but whilst they make.

Seneca *Epist.* ix. 7:

Attalus philosophus dicere solebat: "iucundius esse amicum facere quam habere. quomodo artifices iucundius pingere est quam pinxisse." Illa in opere suo occupata sollicitudo ingens oblectamentum habet in ipsa occupatione. non aequè delectatur, qui ab opere perfecto removit manum. iam fructu artis suae fruitur: ipsa fruebatur arte, cum pingeret.

This passage of Seneca was also utilized in *Und.* iv.

Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the Law
To like what you lik'd, and at Masques, or Playes,
Commend the selfe-same Actors, the same wayes
Aske how you did? and often with intent
Of being officious, grow impertinent.

Ovid *Ars amatoria* ii. 197 ff.:

Cede repugnanti: cedendo victor abibis;
Fac modo, quas partis illa iubebit, agas!
Arguet: arguito; quidquid probat illa, probato;
Quod dicet, dicas; quod negat illa, neges!
Riserit: adride; si flebit, flere memento!

Cf. *ibid.* i. 145-46, 151-52:

Cuius equi veniant, facito studiose requiras,
Nec mora, quisquis erit, cui favet illa, fave!
Et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum:
Quaelibet officio causa sit apta tuo.

The curse in ll. 39 ff. of Jonson's poem reminds one of the curse toward the end of *Und.* lxi and of that in iii, 5, of *Epicoene*. With this play, iv. 1. 121-22, "like what she likes, praise whom she praises," compare the lines above. With the line "He first desire you false, would wish you just," compare "Then I will study falsehood, to be true," from the preceding piece (for I daresay that, after what I have pointed out above as to the sources of that elegy, no one will now embrace Fleay's opinion that it was by Donne). These are some, but by no means all, of the reasons why I think that editors of Donne should examine the matter far more carefully than they appear to have done as yet before they consider the authorship of this piece a settled question. For instance, the evidence of the manuscripts has, it seems to me, nothing like the force attributed to it by Grierson, and I believe the canon of the Folio text of *Underwoods* is trustworthy, partly because it was edited by Digby, partly because of internal evidence. I cannot, however, go into the point at length here.

Und. lviii:

But ever without Blazon, or least shade
Of vowes so sacred, and in silence made;
For though Love thrive, and may grow up with cheare,
And free societie, hee's borne else-where,
And must be bred, so to conceale his birth, etc.

Propertius ii. 25. 29-33:

tu tamen interea, quamvis te diligit illa,
in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu:
namque in amore suo semper sua maxima cuique
nescio quo pacto verba nocere solent.

Tibullus iv. 13. 7-8:

nil opus invidia est, procul absit gloria vulgi:
qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.

Und. lx:

Let me be what I am, as Virgil cold
As Horace fat; or as Anacreon old;
No poets verses yet did ever move,
Whose Readers did not thinke he was in love.

Jonson is here expressing one of the fundamental doctrines of classical aesthetic theory; cf. Cicero *De or.* ii. 45:

Neque fieri potest, ut doleat is qui audit . . . nisi omnes ii motus, quos orator adhibere volet iudici, in ipso oratore impressi atque inusti videbuntur.

So Horace *De arte poet.* 102, and cf. Sidney, *Apologie*, ed. Arber, 67:

But truely many of such writings, as come vnder the banner of vnresistable loue, if I were a Mistress, would neuer perswade mee they were in loue: so coldely they apply fiery speeches [etc.].

Other critical writings of the period dilate on the topic.

Und. lxii: "A speech according to Horace." Castelain (*Ben Jonson*, p. 793) has called attention to the fact that in this title "speech" translates *sermo*, and we may take the occasion to point out that Jonson seems in this poem to be imitating more or less the restrained irony of Horace rather than, as usual, the vehemence of Juvenal. For that reason this piece stands out as unique among Jonson's satirical poems. In spite of that fact, however, Jonson has

Juvenal in mind, so far as part of the subject-matter is concerned, as anyone will readily observe who chooses to compare the eighth satire. That satire is devoted to the general theme that virtue is the true nobility. Juvenal emphasizes, as Jonson does, the principle that honorable descent is of value only if oneself maintain the ancestral virtue. Juvenal's lines, 44 f.:

'vos humiles' inquis 'volgi pars ultima nostri,
quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis,
ast ego Cecropides,'

seem to have suggested to Jonson the lines that he puts into the mouth of the worthless noble. Another passage, 134,

de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro,

apparently suggested the words:

Wee,
Descended in a rope of Titles, be
From Guy, or Bevis, Arthur, or from whom
The Herald will.

For the vices of the Roman degenerates Jonson naturally substitutes their equivalents in the life of contemporary London.

The last third of this speech may owe something in thought to the speech of Marius to the Roman citizens, Sall. *Iug.* lxxxv. 37 ff.:

Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos, illorum aemulos, contemnit; et omnes honores, non ex merito, sed quasi debitos, a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. "Sordidum me et incultis moribus" aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neques pluris pretii coquum quam villicum habeo. Quae mihi libet confiteri, Quirites, nam ex parente meo, et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire; omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae quam divitiarum esse; arma, non suppellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo, quod juvat, quod carum aestimant, id semper faciant; ament, potent: ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis: sordorem, pulverem, et alia talia relinquunt nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita: nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, reipublicae innoxiae cladi sunt.

It seems, however, more likely that Jonson is drawing from the Dutch scholar Lipsius, for I find in Burton, pp. 208-9 of the ordinary one-volume edition, a passage apparently quoted from Lipsius and very closely parallel to the latter part of Jonson's poem. As I have not access to an edition of Lipsius, I can do no more than refer to the passage in the *Anatomy*.

Und. lxiii:

I neither am, nor art thou one of those
That hearkens to a Jacks-pulse, when it goes.
Nor ever trusted to that friendship yet
Was issue of the Taverne, or the Spit.

Plut., *Of the Folly of Seeking Many Friends*, trans. 1870, i. 466-67:

The palaces of noble men and princes appear guarded with splendid retinues of diligent obsequious servants, and every room is crowded with a throng of visitors . . . and it may be thought, I confess, at first sight, that such are very fortunate in having so many cordial, real friends at their command. . . . Change the scene, and you may observe a far greater number of flies as industriously busy in their kitchens; and as these would vanish, were the dishes empty, and clean, so neither would that other sort of insect pay any further respect, were nothing to be got by it.

And Martial ix. 14:

Hunc, quem mensa tibi, quem cena paravit amicum,
Esse putas fidae pectus amicitiae?
Aprum amat, etc.

And as within your Office, you doe take
No piece of money, but you know, or make
Inquire of the worth: So must we doe,
First weigh a friend, then touch, and trie him too.

Plut., *ibid.*, 467:

Whoever without due trial put themselves upon us for friends we examine as bad money; and the cheat being discovered, etc.

Plut., 468:

He that would secure a lasting friendship and acquaintance must first deliberately judge and thoroughly try its worth, before he settles it.

So in *How to Know a Flatterer from a Friend*, ii. 102:

And therefore we should rather try our friend, as we do our money, whether or not he be passable and current, before we need him.

'Tis vertue alone, or nothing that knits friends.

Plut., 466:

That which procures love and friendship in the world is a sweet and obliging temper of mind, a lively readiness in doing good offices, together with a constant habit of virtue.

Men have Masques and nets,
But these with wearing will themselves unfold:
They cannot last. No lie grew ever old.

Sen. *Epist.* lxxix. 18:

Nihil simulatio proficit. paucis imponit leviter extrinsecus inducta facies: veritas in omnem sui partem eadem est. Quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. tenue est mendacium: perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris.

See also *De clem.* i. 1. 6:

Nemo enim potest personam diu ferre.

In *Disc.* (No. 60, ed. Castelain; p. 20, ed. Schelling) Jonson attributes the saying "No lie grew ever old," to Euripides, but Castelain says nothing about the attribution, and Schelling remarks that he has not been able to verify it. In the same passage, Jonson says "nothing is lasting that is fain'd," and this looks very much like a reminiscence of the "quae decipiunt, nihil habent solidi," above. Compare, however, Cic. *De off.* ii. 12:

Nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum.

looke, if he be
Friend to himselfe, that would be friend to thee.
For that is first requir'd, A man be his owne.

Sen. *Epist.* vi. 7:

Interim quoniam diurnam tibi mercedulam debeo, quid me hodie apud Hecatonem delectaverit dicam. "Quaeris, inquit, quid profecerim? amicus esse mihi." Multum profecit: numquam erit solus. scito hunc amicum omnibus esse.

This is likewise Aristotelian doctrine. In discussing the problem whether a man may be his own friend, he remarks that we "must make it our ambition to be virtuous; for then we shall stand in a friendly relation to ourselves, and shall become the friends of others." And farther on: "But these conditions and all such others as are characteristic of friendship are best realized in the relation of a man to himself; for it has been said that all the characteristics of friendship

in the relation of a man to other men are derived from his relation to himself" (*Ethics*, Welldon, pp. 293, 300).

Und. lxi:

Whose even Thred the Fates spinne round, and full,
Out of their Choysest, and their whitest wooll.

Cf. Juvenal xii. 64-65:

postquam Parcae meliora benigna
pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi
lanificae.

For other parallels see Friedlaender, *ad loc.*

Und. lxxii:

How happy were the Subject! if he knew
Most pious King, but his owne good in you!

So in *Loves Wel-come* (at Bolsover): "Which is, that first the Peoples love would let that People know their owne happinesse." The idea is of course from the "sua si bona norint," *Georgics* ii. 458.

Und. lxxxiii:

To compare small with great.

Virgil *Georgics* iv. 176:

si parva licet componere magnis.

Und. lxxxvi:

But as the wretched Painter, who so ill
Painted a Dog, that now his subtler skill
Was, t' have a Boy stand with a Club, and fright
All live dogs from the lane, and his shops sight.
Till he had sold his Piece, drawne so unlike:
So doth the flattrer, with farre cunning strike
At a Friends freedome, proves all circling meanes
To keepe him off; and how-so-e're he gleanes
Some of his formes, he lets him not come neere
Where he would fixe, for the distinctions feare.

Plut., *How to Know a Flatterer*, ii. 136:

There remains yet another way to discover him by his inclinations towards your intimates and familiars. . . . Therefore this light and empty counterfeit, finding he wants weight when put into the balance against a solid and substantial friend, endeavors to remove him as far as he can, like him who, having painted a cock extremely ill, commanded his servant to take the original out of sight.

When Jonson speaks of the flatterer as gleaning some of the forms of the friend, he is simply summarizing Plutarch's whole essay, the theme of which is the fact that a flatterer looks like and imitates a friend, but can be distinguished on close inspection.

Und. lxxxvii: Besides the source marked down by Whalley, note that the middle part of this poem is based on Seneca, and the last stanza but one on Aristotle. The whole of Seneca's ninety-third epistle should be compared. I extract the more interesting parts:

Non ut diu vivamus curandum est, sed ut satis. . . . Longa est vita, si plena est. . . . Quid illum octoginta anni iuvant per inertiam exacti? non vixit iste, sed in vita moratus est, nec sero mortuus est, sed diu. "Octoginta annis vixit." Immo octoginta annis fuit, nisi forte sic vixisse eum dicis, quomodo dicuntur arbores vivere. . . . "At ille obiit viridis." sed officia boni civis, boni amici, boni filii exsecutus est: in nulla parte cessavit. licet aetas eius imperfecta sit, vita perfecta est . . . actu illam metiamur, non tempore. Vis scire, quid inter hunc intersit, vegetum contemptoremque fortunae, functum omnibus vitae humanae stipendiis atque in summum bonum eius evectum, et illum, cui multi anni transmissi sunt? alter post mortem quoque est, alter ante mortem periit. Laudemus itaque et in numero felicium reponamus eum, cui quantulumcumque temporis contigit, bene collocatum est. . . . Quemadmodum in minore corporis habitu potest homo esse perfectus, sic et in minore temporis modo potest vita esse perfecta . . . qualis quantusque esset ostendit: si quid adiecisset, fuisset simile praeterito. . . . "Non tam multis vixit annis quam potuit." Et paucorum versuum liber est et quidem laudandus et utilis.

The same sentiments are in Plutarch's *Consolation to Apollonius*, i. 317-19, but it is Seneca that Jonson is using. Similar ideas occur elsewhere in Seneca.

The doctrine of the origin of friendship out of virtue is Aristotelian; see *Ethics*, Welldon, 294-95, where Aristotle is discussing good will as "the germ of friendship," and cf. Cicero *De amic.* vi. With the next to the last stanza, cf. Aristotle *ibid.* 314:

But the friendship of the virtuous is virtuous; it grows as their intercourse grows, and they seem to be morally elevated by the exercise of their activity and by the correction of each other's faults; for each models himself upon the pleasing features of the other's character, whence the saying,

From good men learn good life.

The saying is attributed to Theognis.

The expression "dead sea" of life is also from Seneca *Epist.* lxvii. 14:

Hoc loco mihi Demetrius noster occurrit, qui vitam securam et sine ullis fortunæ occursionibus "mare mortuum" vocat.

When at the beginning of the sixth stanza Jonson says, "Goe now," etc., he is making use, of course, of a Latinism of which he was rather fond, as it occurs several times in his various pieces. *I nunc* is constantly employed by the Latin poets in this ironical fashion.

Who, ere the first downe bloomed on the chin,
Had sow'd these fruits, and got the harvest in.

An interesting parallel, though perhaps not a source, is found in Claudian *In Olyb. et Prob. cons.* 67 ff.:

primordia vestra
Vix pauci meruere senes metasque tenetis,
Ante genas dulces quam flos invenilis inumbret
Oraque ridenti lanugine vestiat aetas.

Und. lxxxviii:

the Law
Of daring, not to doe a wrong, is true
Valour! to sleight it, being done to you!
To know the heads of danger! where 'tis fit
To bend, to breake, provoke, or suffer it!

Sen. De ben. ii. 34. 3:

Fortitudo est virtus pericula iusta contemnens aut scientia periculorum repellendorum, excipiendorum, provocandorum.

For Jonson's doctrine of true valor, see the article in *Modern Philology* already cited.

Und. xc: See below, under "Miscellaneous A."

Und. ci:

Had I a thousand Mouthes, as many Tongues,
And voyce to raise them from my brazen Lungs.

Virgil *Georgics* ii. 42-43 (repeated in *Aeneid* vi. 625):

non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
ferrea vox.

Compare *Iliad* ii. 489.

Her sweetnesse, Softnesse, her faire Courtesie,
Her wary guardes, her wise simplicitie,

Were like a ring of Vertues. . . .
 when they urg'd the Cure
 Of her disease, how did her soule assure
 Her sufferings, as the body had beene away!
 And to the Torturers (her Doctors) say,
 Stick on your Cupping-glasses, feare not, put
 Your hottest Causticks to, burne, lance, or cut:
 Then comforted her Lord! and blest her Sonne!
 Chear'd her faire Sisters in her race to runne!
 With gladnesse temper'd her sad Parents teares!
 Made her friends joyes, to get above their feares!
 And, in her last act, taught the Standers-by,
 With admiration, and applause to die!

One cannot be certain that Jonson here had Pliny in mind, but on reading the latter's account of the death of the thirteen-year-old daughter of his friend Fundanus, one cannot refrain from noticing resemblances that have a real significance when one takes into consideration how intimately Jonson knew Pliny and how much he took from him. *Epist. v. 16*:

nondum annos quattuordecim impleverat, et iam illi anilis prudentia, matronalis gravitas erat, et tamen suavitas puellaris cum virginali verecundia. ut illa patris cervicibus inhaerebat! qua illa temperantia, qua patientia, qua etiam constantia novissimam valetudinem tulit! medicis obsequabatur, sororem, patrem adhortabatur ipsamque se destitutam corporis viribus vigore animi sustinebat. duravit hic illi usque ad extremum nec aut spatio valedudinis aut metu mortis infractus est, quo plures gravioresque nobis causas relinqueret et desiderii et doloris.

Let Angels sing her glories, who did call
 Her spirit home, to her originall!
 Who saw the way was made it! and were sent 65
 To carry, and conduct the Complement
 'Twixt death and life! Where her mortalitie
 Became her Birth-day to Eternitie!
 And now, through circumfused light, she looks
 On Natures secrets, there, as her owne bookes: 70
 Speakes Heavens Language! and discovereth free
 To every Order, ev'ry Hierarchie!
 Beholds her Maker! and, in him, doth see
 What the beginnings of all beauties be;
 And all beatitudes, that thence doe flow: 75
 Which they that have the Crowne are sure to know!

Goe now, her happy Parents, and be sad
 If you not understand, what Child you had.
 If you dare grudge at Heaven, and repent
 T' have paid againe a blessing was but lent, 80
 And trusted so, as it deposited lay
 At pleasure, to be call'd for, every day!
 If you can envie your owne Daughters blisse,
 And wish her state lesse happie then it is!
 If you can cast about your either eye, 85
 And see all dead here, or about to dye!
 The Starres, that are the Jewels of the Night,
 And Day, deceasing! with the Prince of light,
 The Sunne! great Kings! and mightiest Kingdomes fall!
 Whole Nations! nay Mankind! the World, with all 90
 That ever had beginning there, to 'ave end!
 With what injustice should one soule pretend
 T' escape this common knowne necessitie,
 When we were all borne, we began to die;
 And, but for that Contention, and brave strife 95
 The Christian hath t' enjoy the future life,
 Hee were the wretched'st of the race of men.

At first sight there is apparently little in this passage to suggest a classical source; yet it seems to be in the main an expression, so to speak, in Christianized language of ideas to be found in two consolatory addresses of Seneca. Compare the following extracts from the *Cons. ad Marciam* and the *Cons. ad Polybium*.

Ad Marc. xxv-vi:

Proinde non est quod ad sepulcrum filii tui curras: pessima eius et ipsi molestissima istic iacent, ossa cineresque, non magis illius partes quam vestes aliaque tegumenta corporum. Integer ille nihilque in terris relinquens sui fugit et totus excessit paulumque supra nos commoratus, dum expurgatur et inhaerentia vitia situmque omnem mortalis aevi excutit, deinde ad excelsa sublatus inter felices currit animas excepit illum coetus sacer, Scipiones Catonesque, interque contemptatores vitae et mortis beneficio liberos. Parens tuus, Marcia, illic nepotem suum, quamquam illic omnibus omne cognatum est, adplicat sibi nova luce gaudentem et vicinorum siderum meatus docet, nec ex coniectura sed omnium ex vero peritus in arcana naturae libens ducit. utque ignotarum urbium monstrator hospiti gratus est, ita sciscitanti coelestium causas domesticus interpret. iuvat enim ex alto relicta respicere et in profunda terrarum permittere aciem. . . . In aeterna rerum per libera et vasta spatia dimissos non illos interfusa maria discludunt nec altitudo montium aut inviae valles aut incertarum vada Syrtium: tramites

omnium plani et ex facili mobiles et expediti et invicem pervii sunt intermixtique sideribus. . . . In parte ultima mundi et inter paucissimos gesta: tot secula, tot aetatum contextum, seriem, quicquid annorum est, licet visere. licet surrectura, licet ruitura regna prospicere et magnarum urbium lapsus et maris novos cursus. Nam si tibi potest solatio esse desiderii tui commune fatum, nihil quo stat loco stabit, omnia sternet abducatque vetustas, nec hominibus solum, sed locis, sed regionibus, sed mundi partibus ludet.

With ll. 80-82, cf. *Ad. Pol.* x. 4-5:

Rerum natura illum tibi sicut ceteris fratribus suis non mancipio dedit, sed commodavit: cum visum est deinde, repetiit nec tuam in eo satietatem secuta est, sed suam legem. . . . Natura suo iure usa, a quo voluit, debitum suum citius exegit.

(See under Epigram xlv in the article in *Classical Philology*, u.s.) For line 89, cf. *ibid.* xi. 4: "tota cum regibus regna populique cum regentibus tulere fatum suum: omnes, immo omnia in ultimum diem spectant." With line 92, cf. Seneca *Epist.* xxx. 11: "Mors necessitatem habet aequam et invictam: quis queri potest in ea condicione se esse, in qua nemo non est?" With 94, *Ad. Marc.* xxi. 6: "ex illo quo primum lucem vidit, iter mortis ingressus est accessitque fato propior et illi ipsi qui adiciebantur adulescentiae anni, vitae detrahebantur." (Cf. also *Epist.* i. 2; xxiv. 20.) With 95 ff., cf. I Cor., 15:19: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable."

With 85 ff., cf. also Statius *Sylv.* ii. 209:

omnia functa
aut moritura vides: obeunt noctesque diesque
astraque nec solidis prodest sua machina terris.

Incidentally it might be remarked that a comparison of this elegy on Lady Winchester (together with the later one on Lady Digby) with the formula given by C. H. Moore from Vollmer (on "The Epicedia of Statius," *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, 1913, p. 129) would show that Jonson, *mutatis mutandis*, not improbably had Statius as his model.

Und., "Eupheme," title: Absolute in all numbers (cf. absolute in their numbers, in the "Address to the Readers," in the Shakespeare Folio). This interesting expression apparently comes directly from Pliny *Epist.* ix. 38: "legi enim librum omnibus numeris absolutum."

Note that in the Folio of 1623 the expression is applied to Shakespeare's plays, i.e., as in Pliny, to a book, a fact which adds something to the argument supporting the Jonsonian authorship of this piece, since, as is shown in these pages and in the article just referred to, Jonson used Pliny's letters freely. In "Eupheme" Jonson applies the phrase to a man. It is worth noting that similar expressions are used of men by Valerius Maximus ii. 10. 8, "omnibus numeris perfecta virtus"; iv. 1. Ext. 2, "cunctosque uirtutis numeros"; and viii. 15. 2, "omnibus numeris uirtutis diuitem."

Und., "Eupheme," Nos. 3 and 4: I suspect these to be indebted, as respects their general design, to Lucian's *Portrait-Study*. First, with the help of painters and statuary he depicts the body of the wife of Abradatas; then, dismissing the artists, he depicts her mind. There are, however, no particular agreements in detail.

Thou entertaining in thy brest,
But such a mind, mak'st God thy Guest.

Seneca *Epist.* xxxi. 11:

animus, sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. quid aliud voces hunc quam deum in corpore humano hospitantem?

In *Disc.*, ed. Schelling, p. 40, the saying is attributed to Euripides, but Schelling was unable to identify it, as in the case of the quotation from Euripides formerly noticed. Castelain says nothing. It will be noticed that in the former instance the substance of the idea that Jonson attributed to Euripides is likewise to be found in Seneca, though not, as here, the exact language. See above, under *Und.* lxiii.

Und., "Eupheme," No. 8 (?):

Boast not these Titles of your Ancestors;
(Brave Youths) th' are their possessions, none of yours.

Ovid. *Met.* xiii. 140:

Nam genus et proavos et quae non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.

II. MISCELLANEOUS

A. "A Panegyre on the Happie Entrance of Iames," etc.: This piece derives its inspiration chiefly from Pliny's *Panegyricus* on Trajan and from several pieces of Claudian, while a hint or two was

taken from Martial and Seneca. I find that Castelain (*Discoveries*, p. 154) has touched upon the use of Pliny by Jonson, but he seems to have caught only one parallel and not to have perceived that more than a single passage was involved. The other writers mentioned above he does not notice. I have included the parallel he gives in what follows.

Ll. 3 ff.: Again, the glory of our Western world
 Unfolds himself: & from his eyes are hoord
 (To day) a thousand radiant lights, etc.

Claudian *De IV cons. Honor.* 1 ff.:

Auspiciis iterum sese regalibus annus
Induit et nota fruitur iactantior aula,
Limina nec passi circum privata morari
Exsultant reduces Augusto consule fasces.

In ll. 30 ff., 56 ff., Jonson describes the joy of the crowds through which James passed. Pliny xxii has many parallels.

Ac primum qui dies ille, quo expectatus desideratusque urbem tuam ingressus es! iam hoc ipsum, quod ingressus es, quam mirum laetumque! nam priores invehī et importari solebant, non dico quadriugo curru et albertibus equis, sed umeris hominum, quod arrogantius erat. tu sola corporis proceritate elatior aliis et excelsior non de patentia nostra quendam triumphum, sed de superbia principum egisti. ergo non aetas quemquam, non valetudo, non sexus retardavit quo minus oculos insolito spectaculo impleret. te parvuli noscere, ostentare iuvenes, mirari senes, aegri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conspectum tui quasi ad salutem sanitatemque prorere. inde alii se satis vixisse te viso, te recepto, alii nunc magis esse vivendum praedicabant. feminas etiam tunc fecunditatis suae maxima voluptas subiit, cum cernerent cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperissent. videres referta tecta ac laborantia ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non nisi suspensum et instabile vestigium caperet, oppletas undique vias angustumque tramitem relictum tibi, alacrem hinc atque inde populum, ubique par gaudium paremque clamorem. tam aequalis ab omnibus ex adventu tuo laetitia percepta est, quam omnibus venisti; quae tamen ipsa cum ingressu tuo crevit ac prope in singulos gradus adaucta est.

Old men were glad, their fates till now did last.

Martial x. 6:

Felices, quibus urna dedit spectare coruscum . . .
ducem.

This was the peoples love, with which did strive
The Nobles zeale.

Claudian *De cons. Stil.* iii. 49-50:

laetatur eques plauditque senator
Votaque patricio certant plebeia favori.

the reverend Themis draws aside
The Kings obeying will, from taking pride
In these vaine stirres, and to his mind suggests
How he may triumph in his subiects breasts
With better pompe.

Ibid. 28-29:

Strepitus fastidit inanes
Inque animis hominum pompa meliore triumphat.

She tells him first, that Kings
Are here on earth the most conspicuous things:
That they, by Heauen, are plac'd upon his throne,
To rule like Heauen. . . .

. . . . That all they doe
Though hid at home, abroad is search'd into:
And, being once found out, discover'd lies
Unto as many enuies, there, as eyes.
That princes, since they know it is their fate,
Of-times, to haue the secrets of their state
Betraid to fame, should take more care, and feare
In publique acts what face and forme they beare.

Claudian *De IV cons. Honor.* 269-75:

Hoc te praeterea crebro sermone monebo
Ut te totius medio telluris in ore
Vivere cognoscas, cunctis tua gentibus esse
Facta palam, nec posse dari regalibus umquam
Secretum vitiis; nam lux altissima fati
Occultum nihil esse sinit latebrasque per omnes
Intrat et abstrusos explorat fama recessus.

and haue no more, their owne,
As they are men, then men.

Pliny 2:

quod unum exnobis putat nec minus hominem se quam hominibus
praeesse meminit.

Claudian *ibid.* 303-4:

His tamen effectis neu fastidire minores,
Neu pete praescriptos homini transcendere fines.

In ll. 90 ff. Themis calls to the king's mind the good and evil deeds of his predecessors. Claudian does the same, ll. 311 ff., 401 ff. It is worth observing that Claudian puts the good advice that he gives to Honorius into his own mouth, whereas Jonson makes Themis the speaker; and further that the praise which Gifford bestows on Jonson for his frankness and outspokenness should be likewise bestowed on the Latin poet by whose example Jonson was inspired.

And that no wretch was more vnblest then he,
Whose necessary good t'was now to be
An euill king; And so must such be still,
Who once haue got the habit to doe ill.
One wickednesse another must defend;
For vice is safe, while she hath vice to friend.

Seneca *De Clem.* i. 13. 2:

eo perductus, ut non liceat illi mutare mores. hoc enim inter cetera vel pessimum habet crudelitas: perseverandum est nec ad meliora patet regressus. Scelera enim sceleribus tuenda sunt: quid autem eo infelicius, cui iam esse malo necesse est?

And cf. Claudian *ibid.* 278-80, 290-94.

For ll. 121-27, beginning, "He knew, that those, who would, with loue, command," see the quotation from Pliny given under Epigram xxxv in the article in *Classical Philology* previously mentioned, and compare Claudian *ibid.* 297 ff.:

Tunc observantior aequi
Fit populus nec ferre negat, cum viderit ipsum
Auctorem parere sibi: componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, quam vita regentis.
Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

She told them, what a fate
was gently false from Heaven vpon this state.

Pliny 8: Trajan was chosen by the gods to rule over Rome.

How deare a father they did now enjoy
That came to saue, what discord would destroy.

Pliny 5 and 6: Trajan, by his accession to the throne, quelled tumults and saved the state.

The temp'rance of a priuate man did bring.

Pliny everywhere celebrates the moderation and temperance of Trajan, and the way in which, though prince, he comported himself as a private man. See, for instance, 23: "inde tu in palatium quidem, sed eo vultu, ea moderatione, ut si privatam domum peteres."

And was not hot, or couetous to be crown'd
Before mens hearts had crown'd him.

Pliny 9 and 10: Trajan was not in a hurry to be emperor, and he was the choice of the people before he was chosen by Nerva.

Who (vnlike
Those greater bodies of the sky, that strike
The lesser fiers dim) in his accesse
Brighter then all, hath yet made no one lesse;
Though many greater: and the most, the best.
Wherein, his choice was happie with the rest
Of his great actions, first to see, and do
What all mens wishes did aspire vnto.

Pliny 19:

est haec natura sideribus, ut parva et exilia validiorum exortus obscurer: similiter imperatoris adventu legatorum dignitas inumbratur. tu tamen maior omnibus quidem eras, sed sine ullius deminutione maior: eandem auctoritatem praesente te quisque retinebat; quin etiam plerisque ex eo reverentia accesserat, quod tu quoque illos reverebare . . . felices illos, quorum fides et industria non per internuntios et interpretes, sed ab ipso te, nec auribus tuis, sed oculis probabantur!

And Claudian *De cons. Stil.* i. 89-90:

Felix arbitrii princeps, qui congrua mundo
Iudicat, et primus censet quod cernimus omnes.

Neuer had land more reason to reioyce.
Nor to her blisse, could ought now added bee,
Saue, that shee might the same perpetuall see.
Which, when time, nature, and the fates deny'd. . . .

Pliny 94:

In fine orationis praesides custodesque imperii deos ego consul pro rebus humanis ac te praecipue, Capitoline Iuppiter, precor ut beneficiis tuis faveas tantisque muneribus addas perpetuitatem . . . aut si hoc fato negatur. . . .

Yet, let blest Brittain aske (without your wrong)
Still to haue such a king, and this king long [cf. *Und.* xc].

Martial xii. 6. 5-6:

Hoc populi gentesque tuae, pia Roma, precantur:
Dux tibi sit semper talis, et iste diu.

The Latin line that Jonson places at the end, "Solus rex," etc., is from the proverbial

Consulesque fiunt quotannis & novi Proconsules:
Solus aut Rex aut Poeta non quotannis nascitur.

These lines are first given in Binetus' 1579 edition of Petronius, p. 20, under the heading: *Floridi de Qualitate Vitae*. He explains the term "floridi," p. 17: "qui loci sunt insignes ex variis auctoribus descripti, qui & aurei dicebantur, sicut floridorum quatuor libri ex Apuleij scriptis excerpti extant hodie." But in Burmann's *Anthology*, ed. 1835, and in Buecheler and Riese the lines, together with others given by Binet under this heading, are attributed to a certain Florus. For Jonson's fondness for this particular bit, see note on Epigram lxxix in *Classical Philology*, u.s.

B. "Lines to Somerset," Gifford, ed. Cunningham, ix, 338:

So, be your Concord, still, as deepe, as mute;
And eve'ry joy, in mariage, turne a fruite.
So, may those Mariage-Pledges, comforts prove:
And ev'ery birth encrease the heate of Love
And when your yeares rise more, then would be told,
Yet neyther of you seeme to th' other old.

Martial iv. 13:

Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto,
Tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo.
Diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito
Tum quoque cum fuerit, non videatur anus.

And Ausonius *Ad uxorem*, Teubner ed. of Ausonius, p. 327:

Vxor, uiuamus, quod uiximus, et teneamus
Nomina, quae primo sumpsimus in thalamo:
Nec ferat ulla dies, ut commutemur in aeuo;
Quin tibi sim iuuenis tuque puella mihi.
Nestore sim quamuis prouectior aemulaque annis
Vincas Cumanam tu quoque Deiphoben;
Nos ignoremus, quid sit matura senectus.
Scire aevi meritum, non numerare decet.

C. "Epigram upon Inigo Jones," Gifford, ed. Cunningham, viii, 113: Gifford in his note remarks, "This is undoubtedly Jonson's," as if the authorship of the piece had been questioned. Were there any uncertainty, it would be removed by observing that the piece is a close adaptation of Martial, xii. 61. I give Jonson's poem from my transcript of Harl. 4955, 176 verso (there is another copy in Harl. 6057, 19, which differs slightly).

TO A FREIND AN EPIGRAM OF HIM.

SF; Inigo doth feare it, as I heare,
 (And labours to seeme worthy of that feare)
 That I should write upon him some sharpe verse,
 Able to eate into his bones, and peirce
 The marrow! wretch! I quit thee of thy paine.
 Thou 'art too ambitious, and dost feare in vaine!
 The lybian lion hunts no butter-flies!
 Hee makes the Camell, & dull asse his prise!
 If thou be so desirous, to be read;
 Seeke out some hungrie painter, that for bread,
 With rotten chalke, or cole, upon a Wall
 Will well designe thee; to be veiw'd of all
 That sitt upon the common draught; or Strand;
 Thy forehead is too narrow, for my brand.

Versus et breve vividumque carmen
 In te ne faciam, times, Ligurra,
 Et dignus cupis hoc metu videri.
 Sed frustra metuis cupisque frustra.
 In tauros Libyci ruunt leones,
 Non sunt papilionibus molesti.
 Quaeras, censeo, si legi laboras,
 Nigri fornicis ebrium poetam,
 Qui carbone rudi putrique creta
 Scribit carmina, quae legunt cacantes.
 Frons haec stigmatè non meo notanda est.

And cf. Claudian *De cons. Stil.* ii. 20-22.

D. In the *Athenaeum* for June 13, 1914, I printed a poem from Harl. 4064, which I thought to be Jonson's. I am the more convinced of the truth of the attribution as I find that almost the whole of the poem was inspired by the seventh satire of Juvenal and that some lines are directly borrowed.

The main thought is the same. It is not now as it was with poets in the old days when great men patronized them gladly. Then it was worth while to write verse. Cf. Juvenal 90-97:

quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos
et baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
haut tamen invidas vati quem pulpita pascunt.
quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?
tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
pallere et vinum toto nescire decembri.

Stanza 3 of the poem runs:

Breake then thy quills, blot out
thie long watch'd verse
And rather to the flyer, then to the rout
theire labor'd tunes reherse
whose ayre will sooner Hell, then their dull sences peirce
Thou that dost spend thie dayes
to get thee a leane face
and come forth worthy Ivy or the bayes
and in this age, canst hope no other grace.

Juvenal 24 ff.:

lignorum aliquid posce ocius et quae
componis, dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,
aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,
qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
spes nulla ulterior.

Cf. the *frange leves calamos* of Martial ix. 73.

E. When in *Conversations*, sec. iv, Jonson adjudged Du Bartas to be no poet because he wrote no fiction, he probably had in mind such a principle as that in Plutarch, *How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems*, trans. 1870, ii. 46:

Wherefore Socrates, being induced by some dreams to attempt something in poetry, and finding himself unapt, by reason that he had all his lifetime been the champion of severe truth, to hammer out of his own invention a likely fiction, made choice of Aesop's fables to turn into verse; as judging nothing to be true poetry that had in it nothing of falsehood. For though we have known some sacrifices performed without pipes and dances, yet we

own no poetry which is utterly destitute of fable and fiction. Whence the verses of Empedocles and Parmenides, the *Theriaca* of Nicander, and the sentences of Theognis, are rather to be accounted speeches than poems, which, that they might not walk contemptibly on foot, have borrowed from poetry the chariot of verse, to convey them the more creditably through the world.

If we are to classify poems on this principle, there is no question of what would happen to Du Bartas.

F. "Masque of Queens," dedicated to Prince Henry (text from Gifford):

For which singular bounty, if my *fate* . . . shall reserve me to the age of your actions, whether in the camp or the council-chamber, that I may write, at nights, the deeds of your days; I will then labour to bring forth some work as worthy of your fame, as my ambition therein is of your pardon.

Cf. Propertius ii. 10. 5-6, 19-20:

quod si deficiant vires, audacia certe
laus erit: in magnis et voluisse sat est. . . .
haec ego castra sequar. vates tua castra canendo
magnus ero. servent hunc mihi fata diem!

G. "Ode on New Inn," last stanza:

But, when they heare thee sing
The glories of thy King,
His zeale to God, and his just awe o're men;
They may, blood-shaken, then,
Feele such a flesh-quake to possess their powers:
As they shall cry, like ours
In sound of peace, or warres,
No Harpe ere hit the starres;
In tuning forth the acts of his sweet raigne:
And raysing Charles his Chariot, 'bove his Waine.

See various lines in the early part of the third Georgic:

temptanda via est, qua me quoque passim
tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora
Invidia infelix furias amnemque severum
Cocyti metuet
mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris. . . .

H. "Part of the King's Entertainment": Martial viii. 15, speaks of the people, the knights, and the senators, as longing for and

welcoming the return of the prince, and congratulates the prince that he can trust in the sincerity of his people's love, ending with the line:

Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.

Jonson makes use of all these ideas, and translates the quoted line as follows:

In a prince it is
No little virtue, to know who are his.

I. *Epig.* xiv:

Camden, most reuerend head, to whom I owe
All that I am in arts, all that I know.
(How nothing's that?)

Cic. *Pro Archia.* 1:

Si quid est in me ingenii, iudices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum
aut si huiusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina
profecta earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum
a me repetere suo jure debet. Nam hunc video mihi principem, et
ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum, exstitisse.

J. *Epig.* cx: Caesar "wrote, with the same spirit that he fought."
See Quintilian *Inst.* x. l. 114:

Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem anime
dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat.

K. Mallory, p. 141 of his edition of *Poetaster*, is of the opinion that Jonson may have been indebted to the play of *Mucedorus* for the suggestion of the figure of Envy. Whoever compares these two descriptions, however, and then turns to Ovid *Met.* ii. 760-82, will see at once that Jonson derived his figure of Envy from Ovid's Invidia. There is no resemblance between the *Poetaster* and the *Mucedorus* passages. Cowley, in the passage spoken of by Mallory, also had Ovid in mind.

L. *Epig.* Dedication:

But, if I be falne into those times, wherein, for the likenesse of vice,
and facts, euery one thinks anothers ill deeds objected to him.

Tacitus *Ann.* iv. 33:

utque familiae ipsae iam extinctae sunt, reperies qui ob similitudinem
morum aliena malefacta sibi obiectari putent.

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DAME NATURE AND LADY LIFE

The relation between the stately and beautiful alliterative poem, *Death and Liffe*, in the Percy Folio Manuscript, and *Piers Plowman* has long been recognized. The central idea of a spiritual conflict in which Death is vanquished by Eternal Life in Christ is embodied in a passage in the vision of Dobet (B XVIII, 27-36; C XXI, 26-35), and there are detailed resemblances which warrant the inclusion of *Death and Liffe* among the poems that continue the tradition of *Piers Plowman* through the succeeding century.¹ But it is only for the last part of the debate, where Life appears in her theological rôle as salvation, that *Piers Plowman* affords an adequate explanation. The earlier and more winsome conception of Life as a personification of the joy of living things and of the kindly power that nourishes them is not to be found in *Piers Plowman* and is entirely foreign to its somber religious atmosphere.

Skeat affirms that the prototype of Lady Liffe is Lady Anima in the vision of Dowel (*Piers Plowman* A, Passus X, 1 ff., etc.), and the latter figure does indeed appear to have furnished the author of *Death and Liffe* with a suggestion. Anima is represented, according to the conventional allegory, as a lady dwelling in the castle of the body. She is the vital spirit or the soul of man. The senses are inclosed in the castle "for love of that ladi that Lyf is i-nempnet," a detail suggestive of the affection which all creatures have toward Lady Liffe. But Lady Liffe is, after all, obviously a different being from Lady Anima, different also from the masculine figure Lyf, who, elsewhere in *Piers Plowman* (B XX, 166 ff.; C XXII, 167 ff.), flies in vain to Fisick for aid against Elde and Deth. She is a goddess, the *magna parens* of living things. The true key to her origin is not to be found in the allegorical psychology of Hugo of Saint Victor, or in the literature of mortification, but on that new Olympus where the mediævalized deities of the pagan mythology hold their state. Her

¹ See Skeat's preface to *Death and Liffe* in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, edited by Hales and Furnivall, III, 49 ff.; also Manly in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 46.

own words, addressed to the destroyer Death, clearly show with which one of these divinities she is to be associated.

& as a theefe in a rout · thou throngeth them to death,
that neither nature, nor I · ffor none of thy deeds
may bring up our bearnes.

[*Death and Liffe*, 251-53.]

Dame Liffe is, indeed, but a hypostasis of Dame Nature, a being to whom the Middle Ages, borrowing for her some of the traits and functions of the classical Venus, had given vivid reality as the embodiment of God's creative power. Closer examination of the Anima passage in *Piers Plowman* will reveal the source from which the author of *Death and Liffe* must have derived the first suggestion for a transferal to Life of the attributes of Nature. The castle of Anima was made by Kind. "What sort of thing is this Kind?" asks the poet. Kind, replies Wit,

is creatour · of alle kunne beestes,
Fader and foormere · the furste of all thing;
That is the grete god · that bigynnyng hedde nevere,
The lord of lyf and of liht · of lisse and of peyne.
Angeles and alle thing · arn at his wille,
Bote mon is him most lyk · of marke and of schap;
For with word that he warp · woxen forth beestes,
And alle thing at his wille · was wrought with a speche.

[A-text, X, 27-34.]

Having once adopted, from the hint afforded in this passage, the idea of associating the figures of Life and Nature, the *Death and Liffe* poet did not rely on *Piers Plowman* for the details of his picture. He turned rather to the richer image of Nature in the well-known *De Planctu Naturæ* of Alanus de Insulis,¹ a work which had furnished Jean de Meung, Chaucer, and many others with the materials of their descriptions of the Goddess of Kind.²

¹ Reprinted in Wright's *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, Vol. I. My quotations are from the English translation by Douglas M. Moffat, *Yale Studies in English*.

² Miss Edith Scamman, whose interesting study of the alliterative *Death and Liffe* (*Radcliffe Studies in English and Comparative Literature*) I did not see until this article was in proof, has noted that certain details in the account of the honor paid to Lady Liffe by living things are paralleled in Dunbar's description of Nature in *The Golden Targe* (93 ff.) and *The Thistle and the Rose* (73 ff.). The explanation of these resemblances is not, as Miss Scamman infers, that the author of *Death and Liffe* knew Dunbar, but that both poets were drawing independently from a common source in *De Planctu Naturæ*, the *Death and Liffe* poet much more extensively than the other. The allusion in *Death and Liffe* to the mysterious mantle (discussed below) is alone

Natura, with Alanus, is the parent of living things. Like Lady Liffe, she appears to the poet in a vision, radiant and goddess-like, crowned with a heavenly diadem. Her neck and breasts are described in terms closely paralleled in the debate. Special emphasis is laid throughout the work on her love function, a characteristic which reappears in the picture of Lady Liffe. At the approach of Natura the instinct of life and love springs up in all things. "The earth, lately stripped of its adornments by the thieving winter, through the generosity of spring donned a purple tunic of flowers." So also as Liffe draws near

blossomes & burgens · breathed full sweete,
flowers fflourished in the frith · where shee forth stepedd,
& the grasse that was gray · greened belieu.

[70-72.]

The similarity of detail at this point in the two descriptions leaves no doubt that the author of *Death and Liffe* is following the account in *De Planctu*. In both poems the fish express their joy; in both the trees bend their branches in honor at the goddess' approach.

These lowered their leaves and with a sort of bowed veneration, as if they were bending their knees, offered her their prayers.

[*De Planctu*, Prose II.]

the boughes eche one
they lowted to that Ladye · & layd forth their branches.

[*Death and Liffe*, 69-70.]

Even more conclusive is the following. The garment of Nature is allegorically described by Alanus after the model of Boethius, whose *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* he is following throughout. It is ever changing, elusive to the eye, and of a supernatural substance. Similarly the author of *Death and Liffe*, quite unintelligibly, except on the hypothesis that he is echoing Alanus, invests his goddess in a mysterious mantle.

In kirtle & Mantle
of goodlyest greene · that ever groome wore
ffor the kind of that cloth · can noe clarke tell.

[83-85.]

sufficient to prove that the material came to the alliterative poet directly rather than through the medium of Dunbar. The failure of the argument for Dunbar as a probable influence in *Death and Life* disposes of Miss Scamman's further conclusion that the poem must be dated after 1503.

Indeed, the whole passage describing the approach of Liffe (*Death and Liffe*, 57-141) is but an elaboration of suggestions in *De Planctu Naturæ*. In the subsequent narrative of the poet's meeting with Lady Liffe there is also a general similarity with Alanus' work. Not recognizing Liffe at first, he is enlightened by Sir Comfort, as the wondering author of the Complaint is enlightened by Natura herself. Says Comfort:

shee hath fostered and ffed thee · sith thou wast first borne,
and yett beffore thou wast borne · shee bred in thy hart.

[127-28.]

Similarly Natura:

Why has recognition of my face strayed from thy memory? Thou in whom my gifts bespeak me, who have blessed thee with such abundant favor and kindness; who, from thy early age, as vice regent of God the creator, have ordered by sure management thy life's proper course; who in times past brought the fluctuating material of thy body out from the impure essence of primordial matter into true being.

[Prose III.]

In view of the substantial identity of Lady Liffe and Alanus' Natura it becomes unnecessary to resort, as Skeat does, to vaguer parallels with the descriptions in *Piers Plowman* of Lady Meed and Holichurche. Thus the crown and gorgeous clothing of Lady Meed are less likely to have been the model of Liffe's jeweled garments than the more elaborately described apparel of Natura, with its wealth of allegorical gems. "And the crown on her head was carven in heaven," says the author of *Death and Liffe*, obviously thinking of the divine origin of Natura "in the inner palace of the impassible heavens." Again, the poet's awe of Lady Liffe and Sir Comfort's "she has fostered and fed thee"¹ are probably derived from the passage already referred to in *De Planctu* rather than from the meeting with Holichurche in *Piers Plowman*.

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¹ The specific phrase in *Death and Liffe* is apparently an echo from *Wynners and Wastours*, I, 206. The relations of *Death and Liffe* to this poem and to other alliterative pieces will be dealt with in the introduction to an edition of *Death and Liffe* which Dr. J. M. Stedman and I are preparing for publication in the University of North Carolina Studies in Philology.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Du Transcendentalisme considéré essentiellement dans sa définition et ses origines françaises. Par WILLIAM GIRARD. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. IV, No. 3 (October 18, 1916), pp. 351-498.

The subject of this monograph is so difficult of treatment that, if our knowledge is even slightly increased thereby, we should be grateful. How shall we derive from book sources an intuitional philosophy? And how define a movement that called itself indefinable? The subject is enormous as well as difficult. Mr. Girard apologizes for attempting so much, and probably most readers will feel that a survey of American thought down to 1840, together with argumentative summaries and comparisons of the transcendental thinking of England, Germany, and France, could hardly be given with much thoroughness in a hundred and fifty rather verbose pages.

The main thesis of the study concerns the derivation of the movement. Mr. Girard in his most conciliatory moments holds that the transcendentalists "ont retrouvé chez les grands idéalistes allemands un état d'âme qui était plus ou moins le leur, ce qui explique l'intérêt qu'ils portèrent à leur philosophie, tandis qu'ils ont emprunté aux spiritualistes français, en particulier, des formes qui se trouvèrent exprimer de la façon la plus satisfaisante, des idées et des conceptions qu'ils devaient beaucoup plus à ce qu'ils étaient eux-mêmes qu'à ce qu'avaient été les écrivains qu'ils lurent, apprécièrent et comprirent" (p. 357). In the heat of argument he seems at times to be defending a thesis much like Brownson's hasty statement: "Germany reaches us only through France" (p. 474). Consistently he aims to show that the influence of Germany on the movement has been much overestimated, while that of France has been neglected. His success is partial.

The method of the argument is open to severe criticism. Having given a historical survey of earlier American thought, Mr. Girard, after reaching 1825, drops the historical method and considers his facts in a topical arrangement that is not illuminating. No logical separation of the philosophical and the religious thinking of the group can be made. Mr. Girard's methods enable him, furthermore, to mistreat individuals easily. Not knowing what to make of Emerson, he obliterates him from the discussion.¹ He neglects Hedge's Germanism most unwarrantably.² He stresses Ripley's

¹ See pp. 383, note, 395, and 482, note.

² Cf. p. 397 with G. W. Cooke, *Introduction to the Dial*, II, 72-73.

choice of French material for the early volumes of his *Specimens of Foreign Literature*, but neglects entirely Ripley's controversy with Andrews Norton and the *Letters on the Latest Form of Infidelity* resulting from it. These little known letters are highly important in the history of transcendentalism, and they show an indisputable and strong German influence on Ripley's thinking. Casual journalistic utterances Mr. Girard sometimes takes with naïve seriousness, and seeming proofs are not always carefully weighed. In part proof of the proposition, "Que la philosophie des idéalistes allemands n'ait exercé, directement, aucune influence notable sur la pensée religieuse libérale de la Nouvelle-Angleterre," the following statements are made (p. 403): "G. Ripley nous déclare à son tour qu'il n'a rien lu de Kant et qu'il doit ce qu'il sait des doctrines de ce philosophe à l'un de ses interprètes anglais (*Dial*, II, 91). Margaret Fuller avoue ne rien comprendre à ce qu'elle lit de Fichte, quoiqu'elle étudie ce dernier d'après un traité destiné à en simplifier la doctrine, et se déclare, en outre, incapable de comprendre, dans son ensemble, le système de Jacobi." The *Dial* article here ascribed to Ripley is assigned by Cooke to J. A. Saxton;¹ on what ground does Mr. Girard assign it to Ripley? Frequent favorable references to Kant scattered through Ripley's work, together with the fact that he was an excellent scholar in German theology and possessed a good German library containing "much of Kant,"² would certainly tend to establish an acquaintance on his part with Kant. With regard to Miss Fuller the fact that she said she could not understand Fichte is far from proving that she was uninfluenced by him. A comic moment is reported³ when Mme de Staël upon meeting Fichte said: "Now, Mons. Fichté, could you be so kind as to give me, in fifteen minutes or so, a sort of idea or *aperçu* of your system, so that I may know clearly what you mean by your *ich*, your *moi*, for I am entirely in the dark about it." Although Mr. Girard seems to think that such statements as Miss Fuller's and Parker's (that Kant is most difficult reading; see p. 442) are evidence for lack of German influence on transcendentalism, they demonstrate, on the contrary, earnest American attempts to fathom German thought. If Americans had professed a clear understanding of German idealism, then indeed we should have reason to believe that they studied it second hand.

Mr. Girard is at his best when collecting evidence of American fondness for French philosophers. It is here that he gives us his most important results. And yet the present reviewer would interpret this evidence in a manner different from Mr. Girard's. The more aggressive transcendentalists—Hedge, Ripley, Parker, Follen, and perhaps Brownson—were, with the probable exception of the last-named, first stimulated by German thinking. They desired to popularize their highly unpopular transcendentalism, but could not do so by use of German sources because of the horror

¹ Introduction to the *Dial*, II, 115.

² Cf. Girard, p. 402, with Frothingham, Ripley, p. 46.

³ *Life of George Ticknor* (1876), I, 497-98.

most of the clergy felt for all German theology¹ and, more especially, because of obvious rhetorical difficulties. Hence they turned to the admirable French simplifications of the Germans and commended them habitually for those unskilled in German or in philosophy. The influence of Mme de Staël in attracting Americans to a further study of German thought is undoubted; but it is certain that before the *Critique of Pure Reason* was translated in 1838 several New Englanders and some transcendentalists had studied the work in the original. Mr. Girard is then justified in assuming an immediate French origin for the thinking of some minor transcendentalists, but not in trying to emphasize such an origin for the thought of the leaders of the movement, other than possibly W. E. Channing and Brownson. Since Brownson is praised so much—and very likely deservedly—by Mr. Girard, it is worth while to quote Hedge's statement concerning the members of the famous Transcendental Club: "Orestes Brownson met with us once or twice, but became unbearable, and was not afterward invited."² Channing had as early as 1816 sent inquiries to Ticknor concerning German metaphysics,³ and later was further influenced by Follen to admire the Germans, whom he could not read.

The reviewer's notion that the French writers with whom we are concerned were valued usually as potential popularizers fits in perfectly with passages of praise of them quoted by Mr. Girard.⁴ Especially is it clear that the writer quoted on p. 454 regards Degerando as best suited to the tired (New England!) business man in his family hours. Other passages might have been quoted to show regard for French writing and its popularizing power. S. Osgood, reviewing Ripley's *Specimens* in the *Christian Examiner* (XXVIII, 138), says: "The French, indeed, are masters of the intellectual mint; they understand how to give thought such shape that it will pass current. Commend us to the Germans for skill, ardor, and patience in digging out the precious metal from its depths, and to the English for readiness and talent to use it in actual business; but it must first pass through the French mint and take the form and beauty that fit it for practical purposes." This seems to present the usual view and to explain perhaps why Ripley's early *Specimens* were from French rather than German philosophers.

Mr. Girard is usually least happy in his anti-German efforts. He does succeed in showing that it is easy to overemphasize—and, for that matter, to underemphasize—direct influence from Kant and the greater German idealists. But it remains true that the movement is stamped "made in Germany." Mr. Girard seems to come close to a really important emphasis—and a rather new one—when he thinks the diffusion of German idealism in America due to such men as Herder, Schleiermacher, and De Wette

¹ See Rev. Daniel Dana in the *American Quarterly Register*, XI (August, 1838), 59; also Howe, *Life of Bancroft*, I, 55, 65, etc.

² Cooke, *Introduction to the Dial*, II, 73.

³ *Life of George Ticknor* (1876), I, 96.

⁴ Pp. 443, 454, 474, 477.

(p. 400). Portions of the works of all three of these were translated by New Englanders and were used in transcendental arguments. Ripley's account of the last two in his *Letters on the Latest Forms of Infidelity* is notably enthusiastic, and he published articles on all three men in the *Christian Examiner*. George Bancroft when in Berlin had been very intimate with Schleiermacher, whose abilities he greatly admired, while Follen and De Wette had worked in close association on the faculty of the University of Basle. But the greater Germans must have had influence as well—if not so much direct influence. Follen's outspoken praise of Kant in his "Inaugural" (1831), Hedge's important commendation of him in the *Christian Examiner* (XIV [March, 1833], 119-127), as well as Parker's opinion that Kant was "one of the profoundest thinkers in the world, though one of the worst writers, even of Germany"¹—all are conclusive as to the direct influence of Kant on some transcendentalists. It may have been difficult, as Clarke is quoted as saying (p. 398, note), to buy German books in Boston. No one has ever thought that German metaphysicians or theologians had a large public in New England, but it is certain that Hedge, Francis, Ripley, Parker, and a few others² would have all the books that need be presupposed. The predilection of Boston and Cambridge for things German was well enough known by 1825 so that Lafayette could call the region "la portion des Etats Unis où la littérature allemande est le plus en honneur."³

We must go back to the method of dealing carefully with the transcendentalists one by one. Then we shall find that their ideas came from many diverse places. W. E. Channing and Emerson derive perhaps from the least usual sources. Bancroft, Follen, Francis, Hedge, and Ripley were so steeped in German that it is useless to deny their Teutonic origins. Brownson is the loudest of the Gallophile group; while Margaret Fuller, though a faithful student of German literature, may well stand as representative of a class who were inspired and taught mainly by Americans. It is unnecessary to assume, with Mr. Girard, that only thinkers who held religious views entirely acceptable to transcendentalists influenced them; William Penn and even Jonathan Edwards⁴ were among those whose thinking was found to contain germs of intuitionism.

Mr. Girard, while taking an unwarrantably extreme position as to German influence on the transcendentalism of New England, has thrown definite light on the interesting part French influence played in the movement. For those who believe the movement essentially obscurantist it will be possible to give the Germans their due weight of influence without violating any present patriotic sensibilities.

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¹ Weiss, *Life of Parker*, II, 454.

² See Appendix to Professor H. C. Goddard, *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*.

³ E. L. Follen, *Life of Charles Follen*, p. 92.

⁴ See Howe, *Life of George Bancroft*, I, 223, and Weiss, *Life of Parker*, I, 112, 141.

